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A. K. Narain

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Ajay Mitra Shastri

Nisar Ahmad

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COINS AS SOURCE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY*

L. K. Tripathi

[Pl. I]

Coin

By a gradual process coin came into vogue as the most acceptable, convenient and stable medium of exchange of imperishable nature and superior velocity. Many ancient people like Egyptians could do without it, while the Greeks were zealous minters. Introduction of coinage certainly marks a definite advance in a people's economy.

Economics

The definitions of economics have varied with its changing concepts. Adam Smith was interested in 'An Enquiry into the Wealth of Nations', 'Neo-classicals' were concerned with the measurement of utilities, while the twentieth century economists think of the welfare of the majority of the people.

Economic History

Economic history, though of comparatively recent growth, has not remained uninfluenced by the developing concepts of economics. Earlier economic historians, critical of the theorists, recognised 'historical relativity in the stages of economic development' and 'not only maintained the principle of historical relativity against the "absolutism of theory", but also insisted upon the continuity of historical development and the interaction of all manifestations of the human spirit, economic, legal, political, social and religious, during each period of history'[1]. They deman-

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* I am thankful to Shri J. P. Singh and Dr. Nisar Ahmad, Deptt. of Ancient Indian History Culture and Archaeology, Shri Deen Bandhu Pandey, Deptt. of History of Arts, Dr. Umesh Prasad, Shri D. K. Mishra and Shri R. Subrahmanyam, Deptt. of Economics, Faculty of Arts, and Professor S.M. Tiwari, Faculty of Commerce, Banaras Hindu University, with whom I discussed with advantage some of the problems; to Shri Pandey also for supplying a few references.

1. Gay, Edwin F., 'The Tasks of Economic History' in *Enterprise and Secular Change* (ed. Lanc, F.C. and Riemersma, J.C.), London, 1953, pp. 407-8. The contribution is a reprint from *Journal of Economic History*, 1941, I, pp. 9-16.

ded that, 'the whole complex of motives and interests, varying among themselves in intensity at different occasions and times should always be taken into account', did not eliminate the ethical element, and recognised the importance of the comparative method as essential to the understanding of any people or institution.[1] The social sciences were thought 'no suitable field for mathematical treatment except of the simplest kind and in but narrow applications, for man's impulses and social reactions normally produce too many variable of conduct for any calculus'.[2] According to Edwin F. Gay, the first President of the Economic History Association, the objective of the economic history is 'the understanding of man in economic life'.[3] 'Economic history' he feels 'is more than a longitudinal cut through the whole fabric of history;'[4] and compares it with 'the dissection from the living body, all of whose reactions, physical and psychical, must be watched by the surgeon'.[5] The economic historian is to know 'the long trends of the productive energies and social pressures that have 'brought us where we are'[6] for which he is also to keep himself 'abreast of the entire advancing front of the social sciences'.[7] According to Sir John Clapham, Economic history, as a discipline, is 'a branch of general institutional history, a study of the economic aspects of the social institutions of the past'.[8] He further feels that 'In the study of institutional organization and function quantitative methods are usually inapplicable and the method of economic history differs in no way from that of history in general.'[9], that 'Should the records happen to be abundant, quantitative treatment of the economic aspects may become possible and very fruitful.',[10] that 'For handling the records of economic

1. *Ibid*, p. 408.
2. *Ibid*, p. 411.
3. *Ibid*, p. 412.
4. *Ibid*, p. 413.
5. *loc. cit.*
6. *Ibid*, p. 414.
7. *Ibid*, p. 413.
8. Clapham, Sir Jhon, 'Economic History as a Discipline' in *Enterprise and Secular Change*, p. 415. The contribution is a reprint of *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. V, New York, 1930, pp. 327-30.
9. *Ibid*, p. 415.
10. *Ibid*, pp. 415-16.

history of the ancient mediaeval and early modern world the necessary training is mainly that of the general historian—the linguistic, epigraphic and palaeographic knowledge appropriate to the age and country studied'.[1] 'Every economic historian should, however, have acquired what might be called the statistical sense, the habit of asking in relation to any institution, policy, group or movement the questions : how large ? how long ? how often ? how representative ?'[2] He regards breaking up of economic history into periods beset with certain dangers; by doing so the economic historian may not be able to select for special attention features of greatest significance.[3]

Recently there have been changes in the discipline, particularly, in its separation from general historical enquiry, in gradually adopting more of the methodology of the social sciences and in systematic use of quantitative measurement. 'Three developments have furnished the major stimuli to the redirection of economic history. First there has been the growing interest of economists in the study of economic growth'. 'The second source of change has been the growing interest of economists in the more precise testing of the hypotheses'. The third source of change has been the growing volume of quantitative information about the past.[4] The 'major issues of economic history fall into two rather broad categories—(1) the overall growth of the economy over-time and determination of that growth (or stagnation or decline) and (2) the distribution of income within that economy in the course of its growth or decline'.[5] The primary objective of the present day economic historian is explanation. 'He seeks to understand the way economies have operated or the way the welfare of the society has been affected by economic phenomena...It not only involves the careful unearthing of facts and evidence about the phenomenon to be explained but also requires the application of generalizations to reduce the shapeless mass of evidential information to an orderly explanation.'[6]

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1. *Ibid*, p. 416.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Ibid*, p. 418.
4. North, Douglas C., under 'History : Economic History' in *International Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, 1968, pp. 468-69.
5. *Ibid*, p. 468.
6. *Ibid*, p. 469.

Coins as Source of Economic History

Coins are an inadequate and poor source, in view of the objectives of the economic history. The coins do mark the progress from the barter to monetary economy but they provide little information regarding further economic developments or institutions marking stages in the economic growth. Writers on economic conditions of ancient India have included coins among the sources, but have neither indicated the manner of their utilisation nor used them in an appreciable way in their reconstruction of India's economic past. There appear to be two reasons for this. First, there does not exist ready-made information based on the study of the coins as mostly the numismatists have approached the subject from a different angle. Second, more and tangible information has been available from epigraphs, literature, and foreign accounts, and so serious attention was not directed to ascertain the possibilities of the coins yielding more information. L. Gopal, in the introductory portion of his booklet dealing with the early mediaeval coins of northern India, though 'struck by the appalling apathy of the numismatists, who often dismissed early mediaeval coins as of debased metal, bad workmanship and little artistic merit.' and critical of the historian regarding his handling of numismatic evidence[1] does not approach even the general numismatists in his treatment of the early mediaeval coins of northern India that follows. V. S. Agrawala, in his Nagpur Presidential address[2] and Professor R. S. Sharma while dealing with Indian feudalism[3] are more analytical and elaborate.

A close thinking, however, reveals that the different elements, characteristics and attributes of the coins give information, though varying in quantity and validity. These informants are their existence (or non-existence or non-availability), metal (pure or debased in different degrees), technique, weight, shape, size, fabric, symbols and motifs, art, legends and their palaeography, find-spots, hoards, number (or quantity), condition, counterfeiting clipping and sweating.

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1. Gopal, L., *Early Mediæval Coin-Types of Northern India*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 12, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1966, preface p. i.
2. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XIII pp. 188ff.
3. Sharma, R. S., *Indian Feudalism*, Calcutta, 1965.

Existence. The emergence of coinage marks a definite stage of, and also helps in, the economic growth of a country. It facilitates thinking about economic matters[1] and enlarges man's freedom.[2] The increasing use of money accelerates changes in the methods of producing and distributing goods, and changes in the character of products'.[3] 'Production in money economy is directed towards wares that promise a profit to the makers not towards goods that will be most beneficial to the consumers,...'[4] It compels 'people to become more calculating, more self-reliant, and more provident,...'[5] 'Money economy fosters inequality in the distribution of income,...'[6] Money also affects the prices.[7]

Non-existence. Non-availability of coins of a particular ruler, dynasty or period need not be taken as indicative of economic collapse or deterioration.[8] The economy of a civilized big nation is seldom so narrow-based. This may simply show that a particular ruler did not feel the need of minting coins. This may be easily understood in view of the facts that generally the Indian rulers were not zealous minters and that they did not disallow the use of foreign coinage in their own territories, besides compelling political and other reasons. Another and major reason behind this may be the melting pot of the goldsmith or jeweller which has often been indicated. This particularly applies to gold and silver currency. India is well known and foremost as hoarder of gold and silver in the form of jewellery. '...as late as 1929 the gross

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1. Hart, A.G., under 'Money : General', *IESS*, Vol. 10, 1968, p. 426.
2. Mitchell, W. C., 'The Role of Money in Economic History' in *Enterprise and Secular Change*, p. 200. The contribution is a reprint of *JEH*, Vol. IV, 1944, supplement, pp. 61-67.
3. *Ibid*, p. 201.
4. *Ibid*, p. 202.
5. *Ibid*, p. 200.
6. *Ibid*, p. 202.
7. Hart, A. G., under 'Money: General', *IESS*, Vol. 10, 1968, p. 431.
8. e. g. Gopal, L. *The Economic Life of Northern India*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 219: 'In the early medieval period the paucity of coins is to be connected with the comparative decline in the volume of this foreign trade.'; Biddulph, *Coins of the Pāṇḍyas*, NNM No. 11, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1966, pp. 29-30 : 'It is not clear why the economic condition of the Pandyans should have deteriorated to the extent that is suggested by these insignificant pieces of copper, ...'.

annual consumption in industry and the arts was no less than 7,500,000 fine oz. and net consumption, after allowing for recoveries of second-hand gold, 5,000,000 fine oz. or over 25 percent of annual output. At the same time nearly as much was imported into India and hoarded there, often in the form of jewellery.'[1] About silver, 'The following percentages represent the absorption of world supply in 1930, here cited as typical of recent times: India, 30; China,, 39; industries in U. S., Canada, and Great Britain, 11; coinage and other uses, 20. China's consumption supplied both its monetary needs and the demand for a medium for saving, the Chinese hoarding the metal in the forms of bullion, coin and often ornaments. India's demand is primarily for hoarding, particularly in the form of articles of personal adornment'.[2] It is interesting to note that the post-Gupta period noted for absence or scarcity of currency in pure precious metals witnesses increasing use of jewellery as attested by sculptures, excavated materials and contents of Mahmud's booty. Non-availability of coins of a dynasty as Rāshṭrakūṭa is striking, yet the possibility of finding their coins may not be ruled out, in view of the discovery of a gold coin of Devapāla.

Metal : The use of gold currency need not be regarded as insignia of the golden age of a nation till involvement of the rulers issuing the coins in the economic matters is more precisely ascertained. Purchasing power of a nation 'is not inherent in the purchasing power of its medium of exchange'[3]. The gold coins may be taken to comply with the demand for coins of a higher value. The choice of metal was dictated by economic need and opportunities.[4] The decreasing use of gold in coinage may better be understood against the political background. The

1. Paish, F. W., under 'Gold: Economic Aspects' in *Chamber's Encyclopædia*, Vol. 6, 1966, p. 414.
2. Bratter, Herbert M., under 'Silver' in *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, Vol XIV, New York, 1963, p. 58.
3. *Ibid*, p. 59.
4. Palyi, M., under 'Coinage' in *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, Vol. III, 1963, p. 622.

   Charles I of England issued 'large silver pieces current at one pound and half a pound, which were struck in this metal to make good the shortage of gold coins.' Linecar, H.W.A., *Coins*, p. 93.

ruling dynasties of ancient as well as mediaeval India have almost invariably failed to maintain the purity and percentage of the yellow metal that characterises their early coinage.[1] Had this been a single occurrence its explanation by the decline of the country's economy might have been possible, but when it is a recurring phenomenon it has to be related to the vitality of the ruling dynasty and state of royal treasury. It is significant to note that gold coinage is usually started by a ruler who is credited with definite conquests and thereby amassing vast treasures. For example, the beginning and maintenance of the gold coinage by the Guptas can be properly understood against Samudragupta's uprooting of the Āryāvarta rulers and capture of their treasury, invasion of the south and receipt of tributes, and his and his successor's annexation of commercially important coastal regions of Bengal and Saurāshṭra and NW. India to their empire. The standard of currency is maintained till the administration is efficient maintaining a balance between expenditure and income. When the administration weakens due to internal or external reasons revenues record a decline and adversely affect the royal treasury. This is reflected in later debased coinage[2]. With certain rulers

1. Maity, S. K., 'Metrological Study of the Gold Coins of Early India', *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 259-266; 'The Gold content of the Later Imperial Gupta Coins', *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, pp. 266 68; 'The Cholas issued coins in four metals in India. The *Madais* were of gold which varied considerably in purity. The earliest were almost pure gold but the later coins were considerably alloyed with silver until in some of the later issues they were of silver merely gold washed or plated'. Biddulph, C. H., *Coins of the Cholas*, NNM No. 13, NSI, Varanasi, 1968. "...the general history of the Coḷa currency seems to have been marked by a progressive deterioration. While the 'Ceylon Type' issues of Rājarāja I, are usually of fairly good gold, all available specimens of the later monarchs, beginning from Rājādhirāja I are of very base gold, 'or rather silver washed with gold.'" Sastri, K.A.N., *The Coḷas*, Madras, 1955, p. 619; Husain, Dr. (Agha) Mahdi, *Tughlaq Dynasty*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 517-31.

2. A degree of the debasement may be attributed also to the carelessness and corruption of the moneyer. As a check against this the Roman Republic allowed, or perhaps compelled their moneyers to place their names on the coins, for they were fully responsible for the quality of the metal contained in the coins and for their correct weight. Linecar, H.W.A., *Coins*, p. 57. In

minting of gold coinage seems to have had commemorative character.[1] However, it has also to be borne in mind that the coining was an important source of royal income and consequently minting privilege has usually been 'exploited with a view to obtaining therefrom the greatest possible revenue.'[2] Natural impurities and necessity of alloying for making the soft yellow metal harder and, thus, more durable should also not be lost sight of. Scientific analysis of the coin-metal may be of some help in this regard which has also been utilised in tracing the probable source of the metal and thereby suggesting trade-links with that area[3]. The only notable impact of the varying degrees of debasement in the coins on the economic sphere of the country was emergence of the institution of the moneychanger. The exchange of coins was a profitable business.[4] Imperceptibly the debasement was giving the coin somewhat token character, and preparing people to accept token currency.

The use of cheaper metals in the coinage is of a greater significance than usually realised, betraying deeper infiltration of the coins resultant from further advances in the economy. The fact that silver, gold, and copper coins existed in the Mauryan

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England, 'the trials of the pyre, whereby certain coins of every minting are set aside and tested to prove that they are of the correct fineness and value' should also have ensured careful and honest working of the moneyer, as a side effect. Linecar, H.W.A , *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81. The story of Kajar Shah or Giyar Shah, the mint-master of Firoz Shah Tughlaq is an illustration in this regard.

1. e. g. the gold coinage of Kīrttivarman of the Chandella dynasty.
2. Palyi, M., *op. cit.*, p. 624. In the reign of Edward VI of England, there were efforts to restore the coinage and his coins falling into three periods record a gradual improvement while coins even more base than those of Henry VIII were also issued. 'Most of the base coins issued were of small denomination. The main source of bullion for them was found in the testoons or shillings of Henry VIII, which were recoined into baser metal in order to provide revenue to meet the cost of producing the better coins'. Linecar, H. W. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76.
3. Bhardwaj, H. C., 'Chemical composition of Some Local Bronze and Copper Coins from Northern India', *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins of Northern India C. 300 B.C. to 300 A D.*, (ed. Narain, A.K.), Varanasi, 1966, p. 164 Cf. also *Science*, 152, pp. 1504-06.
4. Cf. Bose, A. N., *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 122.

period, shows that the origin of the coinage in India lies farther back as attested by other evidences. Local and tribal copper coinage shows that in spite of the fragmentation of the Mauryan empire and foreign invasions, the economy of the country did not suffer any retardation[1], and though the punch-marked coins were fully in vogue, the rulers had to issue silver coins at least besides copper. Non-availability of the gold coins of these rulers is understandable in view of the size and resources of their kingdoms. Progress in economy and consequent demand of lower denominations or smaller coins increased so much that people adopted cowrie, in Gupta period if not earlier, as a token currency, which continued till the fourth decade of the present century.

It is significant to note that while the gold coinage, on the basis of available numismatic data, records breaks, the silver coinage maintains a remarkable continuity. The quantum of the silver coinage, on the whole, is much more than that of the gold. At rare occasions when the silver coinage stops or records a decline, it is substituted or supplemented by profuse cheaper copper currency. Is it that the true representative of the ancient Indian economic life is the silver rather than the gold coinage ? If so, the stream of the Indian economy continued to flow uninterruptedly. In view of the ancient Aryan preference for gold and non-Aryan liking for silver, can we see in the silver coinage progressively increasing participation of the non-Aryans in Indian economic activities. It may also suggest easy and plentiful availability of silver in comparison to gold.

Technique. The technique of manufacture is an important point regarding the coin as source material. It may give some idea of the mint output, which is significant for economic studies, and expenditure involved on minting. Varying weights of the punch-marked coins and the differences in their alloying are partly understandable with reference to the undeveloped technique

1. Cf. Mishra, Vikas, *Hinduism and Economic Growth*, *CUP*, 1962, p. 26, with regard to period 300 B. C.–100 A. D. : 'The economy probably registered a higher level of growth than ever before. Agriculture, industry and commerce, in which the government as well as the private sector participated, all shared in and contributed to this growth.' and p. 30 : 'In the period A. D. 100-300, despite the political upheavals and invasions following the disruptions of the Mauryan Empire, not only did the fabric of economic growth continue generally to hold but maritime activities, colonization, and foreign trade all expanded'.

of their manufacture.[1] Successive changes in the technique of coinage carried within two centuries after the Great Mauryas testify to the progressive economy of the country rather than any foreign influence. Different stages in the evolution of double-die coins appear to be experiments with a view to accelerating the process of coin-manufacture and increasing the output. Another possibility is that marked differences in the weight of individual coins is in consequence to *clipping* of these pieces, while in circulation, by people. If this is so, the use of moulds and change from the earlier quadrangular to circular *shape* may be to check this malpractice.[2] The clipping and *sweating* are known to have been practised in other countries too; but the detection of the latter requires closer observation. The *counterfeiting* is another malpractice carried by the people with the same objective. It confirms difference in the metallic and the face values of a coin, if the contemporary genuine pieces are in debased metal. But the counterfeiter, for acquiring unlawful profit, may coin in debased metal even if the genuine currency is in pure metal and there is little difference between the two values[3]. They may also be indicative of shortage of coins and demand for them.[4]

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1. Cf. Gardner, P., *A History of Ancient Coinage*, Oxford, 1918, pp. 55-56 and pp. 64-65. Percy Gardner's remark on pp. 64-65 is worth quoting. 'But until modern writers rid themselves of our natural presuppositions, and realize more completely how rough and ready were, as a rule, the methods of the ancient mints, they will always be making theories far too exact to fit the facts. For example, numismatists often try to give the standard weights of particular classes of coins to the third decimal place in grammes. There is no indication that the controllers of the ancient mints worked with anything like this accuracy....... Further refinement gives the appearance of great accuracy without its reality, and tends only to mislead.'
2. The clipping was a badly prevalent evil in the thirteenth-century England for the consideration of which a Council was convened in 1247 and, though the standard of the coin was not changed, as suggested by it, the form of the coin was altered. Linecar, H.W.A., *op. cit.*, p. 66.
3. The forgeries are also manufactured if the metal content of the pieces is more than the face value of the coin as seen in the case of the countermarked 'Spanish dollars' in England. Linecar, H.W.A. *op. cit.*, p 106.
4. 'An illustrative case may be cited from the history of the coinage of England. ... large numbers of forged sovereigns, made in Italy and elsewhere, began to make their appearance in countries where the sovereign was still in use', because no sovereign was minted after 1946 for more than ten years. Some millions of sovereigns were struck in the years 1957-59 to counteract such activities. Linear, H.W.A., *Coins*, p. 21.

Weight. The standard weight of a coinage is also important as sometimes it is adopted or modified with a view to adjusting it with other leading coinages of the economic world. Therefore in this may be reflected a country's economic relations with the others. Persian, Greek and Roman influences on different Indian coinages have been suggested on the basis of their metrology.[1]

Motifs. The ship on the Sātavāhana and Pallava (or Kurumbar) coins found mostly from the coastal regions, suggests that it was an important tool of their economy.[2] Constant depiction of *Lakshmī* on the reverses of north Indian coins indicates that the coin was being almost identified with this goddess; it had become the main item of wealth or the wealth was reckoned at coins. Certain motifs such as the bull are liable to be interpreted also economically. They may also go to show the purpose for which a particular series is issued.[3] The value of the motifs for determining the circulation-region of a coinage is well evident.[4]

Art. The art of the execution of motifs on the coins may indicate the normal or abnormal conditions prevailing at the time of

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1. Bose, A.N., *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India,* Vol.II, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 122-23.
2. Rapson, *BMC, Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.*, pp. 22f; *JNSI*, III, pp. 43-45.
3. e.g. the commemorative medals of the Indo-Greek kings Euthedemus, Agathokles, Amyntus etc. and the Aśvamedha type of coins of Samudragupta.
4. Early Indian coins have been noticed to be local in their character. Rapson, C.J., *BMC, Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.* Introduction, p. xi; Jai Prakash, *Seminar Papers on the Local Coins af Northern India* C. 300 B.C. to 300 A.D., Varanasi, p. 8, also f.n. 2; Lahiri, B., *ibid*, p. 30.

   With reference to the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, Rapson writes 'The natural explanation of the diversity is that these various classes of coins were current in the different provinces of a large empire ... The coins, no doubt, reflect the particular form of religion which prevailed in the district in which they were struck. *op. cit.*, p. xii, f. n. 1. The local character of the coins is proved also from the *Viśuddhimagga* (PTS, pp. 437, 515) where it is mentioned that the locality of the coins could be known on the basis of symbols on them. The local variety of the Punch-marked coins and the Local and Tribal issues of ancient India may well be cited as examples. The Gupta silver coins of the Kshatrapa type and some other examples of the later period may also be enumerated in this context.

their manufacture. The Ādivarāha coins of Mihira Bhoja may be cited as an illustration in this regard. In view of the figure of Varāha these coins are divisible into two groups. On the coins of one, the figure in relief with flowing contour lines is a beautiful work of art (**Pl. I. 1**) while on those of the other, the figure is composed of crescentic strokes (**Pl. I 2**). The latter figure is not the work of an incapable artist as the bold strokes betray his confidence. The irresistible inference, therefore, is that the artist was working under pressure, perhaps, to meet an enormous and sudden demand for coins.[1]

Legends. The inscriptions on the coins and their palaeography can be of help for a comparative study of the regional economies. The occurrence of the legend '*bahudhañyake*' on the Yaudheya coins is of specific economic significance.[2] Their evidence can also be utilized for determining the period and chronology, of course with great caution. They may give an insight into the psychology of the issuer in regard to the coinage so also that of the users.[3] The inscriptions recording names of certain cities on the coins are valuable for reconstructing the pattern of ancient Indian economy. Certain coinages are attributed to different *gaṇas* or republics which is relevant to economic history also. This tends to show that these republics, whose economic and administrative set up should have differed from that of the monarchies also could not

1. Cf. Gardner, P., *op. cit.*, p. 61 : 'Barbarous work is not unusual in many series of archaic coins, and they may often be most simply explained by the supposition that the moneyers at the city mints were often careless or worked under pressure.' In the coinage of England, the shape and workmanship of the coins minted during the civil wars of Stephen are rough reflecting unrest of the times. Linecar, H.W.A., *op. cit.*, p. 66.
2. *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhañake*, legend on the Yaudheya coins of class 2. Bahudhānyaka means 'rich in corn' (cf. *BMC, Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction p. cxlviii). The *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan II, 35.5) describes the Bahudhānyaka as a wealthy and prosperous country. Bahudhānyaka is proposed to be identified with an unusually fertile part of the Panjab in the possession of the Yaudheyas (*BMC, Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction, p cxlix).
3. A closer study of the legends given on the ancient Indian coins shows that they were issued with some political, religious or some such motive. The coins were used by the issuer as media for communicating desired information to the people. They were aptly utilized by the issuing authority for propoganda purposes.

escape and felt the impact of this new development and, so, undoubtedly were part and parcel of the general Indian economy. The inscriptions along with reverse devices of the post-Gupta coinage, poor with regard to novelties and variations, suggest that the real purpose of the coins was widely realised only in the post-Gupta centuries.

Condition. The condition of the coin in which it is found may also matter for the economic historian. The mutilation of or the gashes on the Roman gold coins have been taken to indicate their cancellation as currency and thereby Kushāṇa economic policy particularly in regard to the Roman gold coins.[1] The worn condition of a coin reflects the amount of its circulation, rather the velocity of its circulation which in its turn gives deeper insight into the density and momentum of economic activities in different localities in a particular period. This requires a much closer and comparative study. But this may provide a base for further inquiries regarding the habit of the individual, systems of payments, density of population, state of transportation, rate of interest or profit, demand for money, economic security etc.

Find-spot. The find-spot is of recognised importance. It need not always be of political significance and may represent an economic factor as in the case of Roman gold and silver coins found in India. Quantitative evidence based on the study of find-spots may reveal areas of greater concentration of economic activity and also shed some light on the important ancient trade routes. The evidence of Roman coins from the district of Coimbatore and its borders has been taken to establish the use of the Palghat or Coimbatore gap by the ancient traders as by the modern railways.[2] They may also suggest economic links and commercial mobility.

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1. Wheeler, Sir M., *Rome Beyond Imperial Frontiers*, Pelican, 1955, pp. 169-70.

2. Wheeler, Sir M., *op. cit.*, pp. 171-72. In England 'According to the evidence of finds most of the early coins were mainly in circulation in the southern parts of these islands, or in such parts as were easy of access from the mainland of Europe'. Later 'tin money' and gold coins are also found in the south of the country. Linecar, H.W.A., *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

Hoard. The evidence of coin-hoards has been utilized for ascertaining relative chronology[1] and period of circulation of the constituent coins. But it may also be helpful in having a peep into the habit of the people, economic insecurity etc. The hoarding ordinarily implies reversing of the situations which give impetus to circulation of coins. It may also give some idea of the growth of the capital and income. The seeds of banking may also be seen in them. People also start hoarding when the intrisic value of a coin is more than its face value.

Quantity. The stock of money is of considerable importance in the view of an economist as fluctuations in the stock of money in a certain period definitely have their repercussions on the prices which lead to other developments of significant consequences.[2] But statistics alone are of little value.

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1. Gardner, P., *op. cit.*, p. 59. Cf. Jai Pakash, 'The Bearing of a study of Hoards on the Chronology of the Punch-Marked coins, *The Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins* (ed. Narain, A. K.), Varanasi, 1966, pp. 77-80; Ahmad, N., 'The Bearing of the Taxila Hoards on the Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins', *ibid*, pp. 86-111.
2. Cf. Habib, Irfan, 'Economy of Mughal India', *JEH*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, p. 75; Hasan, Aziza, Currency Output in the Mughal Empire and the Extension of the 'Price-Revolution' to India' *PIHC.*, 1966, pp. 235-36.

ON THE RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE OF THE LOCAL KINGSHIPS OF NORTHERN INDIA

J. P. Singh

After the downfall of the Mauryas many independent local kingships were established in different parts of northern India. Such kingships were founded in Almora, Ayodhya, Mathura, Kausambi, Kanauj and Panchala etc. The rulers of most of these localities are known usually from their coins. According to some scholars[1] the Indo-Greeks assisted by the Mathura and Panchala powers attacked Saketa and thereafter Pataliputra. This thesis leads to the conclusion that the kingships of Mathura and Panchala may have been established about the same time Pushyamitra founded the Śuṅga rule in Magadha. Kausambi also must have became independent about the same time and a large number of the kings of Vatsa are known from coins and some of them also from inscriptions. The kingdoms of Almora and Kanauj seem to have been short lived ones.

1. Almora

The local coins of Almora mention Haridatta, Śivadatta, Śivapālita and a doubtful king Mṛigabhūti.[2] Their coins on their obverse bear a curved or wavy line attached to a circle at one end, and a bull or stag before a tree in railing.[3] In addition to these the coins of Śivapālita also bear a male figure. Their reverse bears an "altar surmounted by a triangle headed standard with an elaborate *nandipada* on its face." The stag also occurs on the coins of the Kuṇindas and may represent Lakshmī in animal form. But if the animal is taken as a bull the kings may be taken to have professed Śaivism. The names of the kings also are indicative of their Brahmanical leanings. The supposition

1. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 87 also 83.
2. *BMC, AI*, p. 120, pl. XIV.29, 7, 8 and p. XXXI for Mṛigabhūti.
3. Ibid; cf. B. Lahiri, *Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 32.

that these kings were Buddhists on the basis of symbol interpretation is wrong[1]. In all probability they were Śaivites.

2. Ayodhya

Two sets of kings are known from the two classes[2] of Ayodhya coins. The square cast coins of class I contain a bull before an indistinct symbol and a group of five symbols on their reverse. This series is followed by the coins bearing the names of kings Dhanadeva, Mūladeva, Praushṭhadeva, Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva, Jyeshṭhadatta, Naradatta, and Śivadatta.[3] The bull occurs on the coins of all these kings. The bull is, however, replaced by an elephant on the coins of Praushṭhadeva, Dhanadeva, Vāyudeva and Śivadatta.[4]

Lakshmī both seated and standing is depicted on some coins of Dhanadeva, Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva and Śivadatta. Some pieces of Viśākhadeva, however, portray *gaja-Lakshmī*. The bull seems to represent Śiva's mount Nandi, and Lakshmī is a Vaishṇava deity. In all likelihood, therefore this group of Ayodhya kings favoured and followed Brahmanical cults.

Coins of class II are die-struck and round in shape. The coins of this class bear the names of Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Mādhavavarman, Āyumitra, Devamitra, Sanghamitra, Satyamitra, and Vijayamitra[5]. The obverse of these coins too depicts a bull before a cross like symbol in railing. Its reverse bears an elaborate Nandipada on a framework on the coins of some kings whereas on those of others it is a cock[6], a haṃsa[7] or a peacock,[8] with a symbol composed of a 'palm tree on a wavy line.'

1. The suggestion of Powell-Price (*JUPHS*, IV, p. 10) that the kings of Almora, Panchala and the Kuṇindas were Buddhists seems wrong. The definite religious significance of most of the symbols found on coins is uncertain. The Panchala kings professed Brahmanism like the Kuṇindas, who worshipped Śiva.
2. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXVIII.
3. *BMC, AI*, pp. 130, 131, 132, 133, 134; B. Lahiri, *Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 33.
4. B. Lahiri, Ibid.
5. cf. for these kings, *BMC, AI*, pp. 135-6, 137, 138, 139; *IMC*, I, pp. 150, 151; *JASB*, 1880, p. 138.
6. *IMC*, I, p. 151, Nos. 29, 31-32.
7. *BMC, AI*, p. LXXXIX.
8. *JNSI*, XXV, p. 109.

Some sealings bearing the names of Bhavasena, his son Vishṇumitra, his son Sanghmitra and another sealing of a Śivamitra mentioning him as the son of Vijayamitra are known.[1] Of these, Sanghamitra and Vijayamitra are identified with homonymous Ayodhya kings[2]. Most of these sealings contain a bull facing a trident battle axe or *triśūla.* The sealing of Sanghamitra, however, bears a 'female figure with prominent breasts and hips'[3] and may represent Lakshmī.

This evidence of the sealings proves conclusively that the bull on Ayodhya coins is definitely a Śaiva emblem. And the local kings of Ayodhya were patrons of Brahmanism, Śaivism being their state religion. The continuance of the bull by the kings of both the groups is really significant and may show that the two groups of kings may have been related with each other.

3. Kanauj

Only the coins of a certain Vishṇudeva[4] are definitely known from Kanauj. Coins of other kings are assigned to this locality on the basis of their typological similarity with the coins of Vishṇudeva.[5] They are Brahmamitra and Suryamitra.[6] Other kings assigned to the kingdom of Kanauj are Gomitra[7] and Sungavarman.[8] These kings are supposed to form two groups; the coins of the Mitras being one of these and the remaining two kings belong to the other on the basis of their typology.[9] They seem to contain a triangle headed standard, tree-in-railing and Ujjain symbol on obverse and a standard surmounted by a *nandipada* in railing on reverse of the coins of the Mitras. But the coins of the two other kings bear tree in railing, hare on moon and a caduceus like symbol. The reverse of these two kings bears a horse before a *yūpa* or sacrificial post.

1. K. K. Thaplyal, *JNSI,* XXX, pp. 68 ff.
2. Ibid, p. 70.
3. Ibid, pp. 68-69.
4. *BMC, AI,* p. 147.
5. Ibid, pp. XCIII-IV ; *JRAS,* 1898, p. 97.
6. *BMC, AI,* p. 147.
7. *IMC,* I, p. 206, no. 2.
8. This king's attribution to Kausambi by Bajpai (*JNSI,* XXVII, pp. 188-89) has been rejected by B. Lahiri (*Local Coins of Northern India,* pp. 35-36).
9. B. Lahiri, Ibid, p. 36.

Most names of the Kanauj kings betray the Brahmanical religious attitude of these kings. It may be surmised that both Vishṇudeva and Sungavarman may have performed horse sacrifices[1].

4. Mathura

The known coins of Mathura fall in two groups. One of these groups is represented by the coins of the Brahmanical Indian kings and the other consists of the coins of the Sakas of Mathura. We have elsewhere dealt with the Sakas of Mathura and therefore will confine ourselves only to the Hindu kings of the locality. These kings are further classified in two groups of the Mitra and Datta kings. They are Brahmamitra, Ghoshadatta, Driḍhamitra, Gomitra, Sūryamitra, Vishṇumitra, and Balabhūti, Bhavadatta, Kāmadatta, Purushadatta, Rāmadatta, Śeshadatta and Uttmadatta.[2] The attribution of some coins of Gomitra and Balabhūti to Mathura is doubtful[3].

Coins of all Mathura rulers are uniform. They contain a depiction of Lakshmī on obverse with four other symbols. Their reverse bears usually 'three elephants with riders'. But the coins of Bhavadatta and Uttamadatta contain only one elephant and that too without a rider. Some issues of Gomitra, however, bear the figure of a bull.[4] On some pieces of Kāmadatta and Rāmadatta, goddess Lakshmī appears also in association with a star and a tiny bull symbol also occurs on most coins of Mathura.

It appears on the basis of the occurrence of Lakshmī, elephants[5] and bull etc. that the Hindu kings of Mathura favoured Brahmanism. Their names also suggest this supposition.

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1. The reverse of Vishṇudeva "may commemorate an Aśvamedha sacrifice", *BMC, AI*, p. XCIV.
2. *BMC, AI*, pp. 170-72, 173, 174, 175, 176, 178, 182, 183, 179, 177; *IMC*, I, p. 198.
3. *BMC, AI*, p. CIX. But B. Lahiri favours their attribution to Mathura, cf. *Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 44.
4. *BMC, AI*, p. 172.
5. Elephant with or without riders may perhaps be connected with Lakshmī, especially because her *gaja-lakshmī* form is depicted on some coins of the Sakas of Mathura, cf. *BMC, AI*, pp. 187, 190; cf. also J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 110-11.

5. Panchala

The Panchala coins form 'one of the longest and the most uniform series' of coins.[1] Most of them contain a group of three symbols which is supposed to be their characteristic symbol. Their reverse motifs are supposed to be of a special interest from the standpoint of the 'Hindu iconography'.[2] The Panchala coins contain the names of Agnimitra,[3] Anamitra,[4] Bhadraghosha,[5] Bhānumitra,[6] Bhūmimitra,[7] Brihaspatimitra,[8] Dāmagupta,[9] Dhruvamitra,[10] Indramitra,[11] Jayagupta[12] Jayamitra, [13]Phālgunimitra,[14] Prajāpatimitra,[15] Rudraghosha,[16] Rudragupta, [17] Śivanandī,[18] Sūrymitra,[19] Shrīnandi,[20] Vangapāla,[21] Varuṇamitra,[22] Vasusena,[23] Vishṇumitra,[24] Yajñapāla,[25] and Yugasena.[26]

The three obverse Panchala symbols are supposedly of a dynastic significance and do not seem to have any religious importance.

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1. *BMC, AI*, p. CXVI.
2. Ibid, p. CXVII; cf. also for an interpretation of these reverse motifs, *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 149 ff; and *Local Coins of Northern India*, pp. 59 ff.
3. *BMC, AI*, pp. 199-201.
4. *JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 43.
5. *BMC, AI*, p. 197.
6. Ibid, p. 195-197.
7. Ibid, p. 198.
8. *IMC*, I, p. 185.
9. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 43-44; Ibid, XXIV, p. 14, n. 2.
10. *BMC, AI*, p. 199.
11. Ibid, pp. 203-204.
12. Ibid, p. 202.
13. Ibid, p. 203.
14. *BMC, AI*, pp. 194-195.
15. *JNSI*, III, p. 80.
16. Ibid, XXIV, p. 9.
17. *BMC, AI*, p. 192.
18. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 42-43.
19. *BMC, AI*, p. 193.
20. *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 22.
21. Ibid, IV, p. 19; Ibid XXIV, pp. 10, 12.
22. Ibid, V, pp. 17-8; Ibid, XXV, p. 243.
23. Ibid, II, p. 115.
24. *BMC, AI*, p. 202.
25. *JNSI*, IV, p. 17.
26. Ibid, V, p. 19; Ibid, XXIV, p. 11.

The coins of Bhadraghosha and Phālgunimitra contain a female deity standing on lotus and a star which possibly is a representation of Bhadrā[1] and Phālguni nakshatras.[2] A type of Swastika also occurs on those of Bhadraghosha. A solar symbol is depicted on the coins of Sūryamitra and is shown on a two legged triangle headed symbol. The coins of the kings Agnimitra and Bhūmimitra show a male deity, standing between pillars, on a platform. The deities on these coins are taken to represent Agni and Bhūmi.[3] The latter deity, however, may be 'the king of the Nāgas representing the earth'.[4] The god on some coins of king Agnimitra stands on a lotus.[5]

A standing male deity on a pedestal occurs on the coins of the kings Indramitra and Vishṇumitra and is taken to represent Indra and Vishṇu. An almost similar deity standing on a pedestal between two pillars is shown also on the coins of Jayamitra. Vishṇu on some coins of Vishṇumitra is supposed to be four-armed[6] holding a *chakra* but other attributes are indistinct. The figures of Indra and Vishṇu are also depicted standing in a domed temple or shrine on coins of the two kings. A similar reproduction of the deity is met with also on the coins of Jayagupta and Prajāpatimitra. But the identification of these figures is made uncertain by the crude nature of the depictions. The deity on the coins of Prajāpatimitra is, however, identified with Prajāpati on the basis of other coins of the series.[7]

The coins of Rudragupta and Dhruvamitra seem to contain a trident or a battle axe at times, between two pillars in railing. Both of these are characteristic symbols of Śiva, also named Dhruva. It is suggested that the indistinct depiction on coins of Yajñapāla shows a sacrificial altar, flame, sacrificer and the *yūpa*, and thereby indicates the performance of some sacrifice[8] by the king.

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1. *BMC, AI*, p. CXVII ; *JNSI*, III, p. 82.
2. *BMC, AI*, p. CXVIII ; J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 137.
3. *BMC, AI*, pp. CXVII-VIII.
4. Ibid, p. CXVIII.
5. Ibid, p. 201.
6. Cf. *BMC, AI*, p. CXIX ; *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 129-30.
7. *JNSI*, III, p. 80.
8. Ibid, XXIV, p. 151.

Coins of Bhānumitra and Sūryamitra bear a rayed disc which possibly represents the sun-god. The disc on coins of both the kings is placed on some sort of a pedestal, the composition of which differs on their coins. But the pillars in railing, flanking the central object are common to them both.

Coins of the remaining Panchāla kings do not contain representations connected with the names of their kings. The symbols that could have some religious bearing are wheel on large type coins of Dāmagupta, and horse on coins of Vasusena. Among other important symbols are two trees, and tree in railing etc. The wheel may be the *chakra* of Vishṇu and the horse may represent the performance of a horse sacrifice by the king.

It appears from what has been pointed out above that the Panchāla kings were patrons and followers of Brahmanism and worshipped its deites. Thus it is beyond any doubt that most Panchāla kings were Brahmanists.

6. Kausambi

From Kausambi also a large number of kings are known from coins. The early uninscribed cast coins from the region include even those pieces bearing the name Kausambi[1] and those of the kings Sudeva and Bahasatimita[2]. The coins contain an elephant on a pedestal or bull with other symbols on obverse. The main symbol of the reverse is tree in railing. The horse type of Bahasatimita may indicate his performance of a horse-sacrifice.

Another group of Kausambi coins, of a later period than the earlier, contain the names of Agnimitra, Aśvaghosha, Bṛihaspatimitra II, Jyeshṭhamitra,[3] Parvata,[4] Agarāja,[5] Iśvaramitra,[6] Jyesh-

1. *BMC, AI*, pp. XCVIII-XCIX ; *JNSI*, XI, pp. 9-10 ; Ibid, XXIV, p. 140 ; Ibid, XXV, p. 20.
2. *BMC, AI*, p. 150;
3. *BMC, AI*, pp. 158, 152, 150, 151-53, 153, 154-58; cf. *JNSI*, IV, p. 13 for Aśvaghosha.
4. *BMC, AI*, pp. XCVI, 150, pl. XX. 10; *JNSI* XXIV, pp. 137-38.
5. *JNSI*, IV, p. 15, the reading Śungarāja is rejected in favour of Agarāja (*JNSI*, IV, pp. 137-138).
6. Ibid, XV, p. 44.

ṭhagupta,[1] Prajāpatimitra[2], Praushṭhamitra,[3] Praiyamitra,[4] Rādhamitra,[5] Rājamitra,[6] Rajanīmitra(?),[7] Rāmamitra,[8] Sarpamitra,[9] Satamitra,[10] Vavaghosha,[11] Śivaghosha,[12] Śuramitra,[13] Varuṇamitra[14] and Jyeshṭhamitra[15].

The most predominant type of Kausambi was bull and tree in railing[16] and it is found almost throughout the local series of Kausambi. The bull is despicted on coins of most Kausambi kings excepting those of Jyeshṭhagupta, Jyeshṭhamitra, Priyamitra, and Rāmamitra.[17] Some coins of Jyeshṭhamitra bear the figure of a horse and may indicate that the king had performed a horse sacrifice. The religious significance of the 'lion' and 'rude male figure'[18] is difficult to determine. There are other minor symbols that are found on these coins but their religious significance is not certain.

The coins of the kings Dhanadeva, Nava, Mūlahasta and Vishṇuśrī also contain the figure of a bull in most cases. Elephant is, however, found on the pieces of Nava and Vishṇuśrī. Three arched hill or chaitya is found on some issues of Dhanadeva and Vishṇuśrī. A trident is depicted on some coins of Dhanadeva and Mūlahasta.

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1. Cf. for Jyeshṭhagupta, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 131; this king is not mentioned by B. Lahiri (*Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 37).
2. *JNSI*, IV, p. 7.
3. Ibid, IV, p. 133.
4. Ibid, XXII, p. 131.
5. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 4-5.
6. Ibid, IV, pp. 8-9.
7. *JNSI*, IV, p. 10; K. D. Bajpai (*INC*, III, I, p. 12) doubts this attribution.
8. Ibid, XXII, p. 131.
9. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 135-6.
10. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 134-35.
11. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 2-4.
12. Ibid, IV, p. 2.
13. Ibid, IV, p. 5.
14. Ibid, IV, p. 6.
15. Ibid, XI, p. 11.
16. *BMC, AI*, p. XCIV.
17. B. Lahiri, *Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 37.
18. B. Lahiri, *Local Cains of Northern India*, p. 38.

Thus the names of the kings, as well as their coin devices are indicative of their Brahmanical faith.

Then the Magha kings seem to have ruled over Kausambi. That the Magha kings were fairly important politically seems to be confirmed by the *Purāṇas* which refer to nine kings of the dynasty[1]. But the coins and inscriptions have brought to light many other Magha kings. They are 1. Bhimasena[2], 2. Poṭhasiri,[3] 3. Bhadramagha[4], 4. Śivamagha,[5] 5. Vaiśravaṇa[6], 6. Bhīmavarman[7], 7. Śatamagha, 8. Vijayamagha, 9. Bhaṭṭadeva[8], 10. Chitasena[9], 11. Jagamagha, 12. Jayamagha, and 13. Puramagha.

The bull is depicted on the coins of most Magha kings[10] but those of Śatamagha, Puramagha and Jagamagha. Elephant is depicted on the coins of Śivamagha and Puramagha. Some coins of Bhīmavarman and Vaiśravaṇa contain a seven spoked wheel.

It appears from their coins that the Maghas[11] were possibly Saivites and, therefore, used bull device on their coins like the previous kings of Kausambi. Seals of Śivamagha and Bhīmasena[12] also contain the figure of the bull with other symbols. It can

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1. *Kośalāyām tu rājāno bhavishyanti mahābalāḥ Meghā iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaiva tu*, Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.
2. Ginja inscription, Lüders list no. 906; *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 177-78, no. I.
3. *Ep. Ind* , XXXI, pp. 178-81, nos. II-IV, VI-IX.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 160; Ibid., XXIII, p. 245; Ibid., XXIV, pp. 253.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 159.
6. Ibid., XXIV, pp, 146-8.
7. *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 177.
8. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXI, pp. 182-183, nos. XI, XIIA, XIIB.
9. Ibid., p. 183, no. XV.
10. B. Lahiri, *Local Coins of Northern India*, p. 40.
11. Cf. for the coins of Bhīmasena (*INC*, III, I, p. 13 ; *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 15-16) ; Śivamagha (*BMC, AI*, p. 157) ; Praushṭhaśrī (*JNSI*, IV, p. 136) ; Bhadramagha (*BMC, AI*, p. 158) ; Vaiśravaṇa (*JNSI*, II, p. 106) Bhīmavarman (Ibid , p. 108) ; Vijayamagha (Ibid, IV, p. 11) ; Śatamagha (*JNSI*, IV, p. 10) ; Puramagha (Ibid., VIII, p. 8) ; Jagamagha (Ibid, p. 9) ; Jayamagha (*JNSI*, II, p 12).
12. "The bull and crescent point to the kings leaning towards Ṣaivism," *Arch. Sur. of Ind. Ann. Report*, 1911-12, p. 51, nos. 26-27.

possibly be said that Saivism was raised to the status of a state religion in Kausambi. And it enjoyed this position under most kings of the region.

The inscriptions dated in the reign of the Maghas are all private inscriptions referring to donations of various kinds to some religious community, the nature of which cannot always be known from the inscriptions.[1] But I am inclined to suggest that whatever the religious nature of these donations they do not reflect the religious nature of the kings in whose reign they are dated. The Maghas were fairly tolerant kings can be inferred from the wheel found on coins of Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman. It may be associated with Buddhism. A Buddhist inscription of the reign of this king is also known[2]. But this does not show that Vaiśravaṇa was a Buddhist himself. The overwhelming evidence of the coins refers to their being of Brahmanical persuasion.

7. Padmavati

The local coins of Padmavati (or mod. Padma Pawaya) are divisible in two groups. The coins of the first group bear the names of kings Makhadatta[3] or Sakhadeva, Mahata,[4] Sabalasena,[5] Amitasena,[6] and Yataga[7] (?). These coins are assigned to first-second century A.D. on palaeographical grounds but they may well belong to a group of kings that ruled the region immediately before the Nāgas. H.V. Trivedi suggested that Amitasena of this list belonged to the house of Nāgasena mentioned in the Allahabad pillar Inscription of Samudragupta and *Harshacharita.*[8] But this seems untenable.

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1. An inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, pp. 245 ff.) of the time of Bhadramagha records "the setting up of two slabs as a seat, at a pond, for the Holy Noble Devī." A Buddhist inscription of the reign of Vaiśravaṇa is also known (*Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 146 ff.).
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 146 ff.
3. *JNSI*, XVII, I, p. 53. The reading Makhadata has been rejected in favour of Sakhadeva on the basis of a coin found from Vidisa by K. D. Rajpai (*JNSI*, XXII, p. 133).
4. *JNSI*, XVII, I, pp. 53-54.
5. Ibid, p. 54.
6. Ibid, p. 55.
7. Ibid, p. 57.
8. Ibid, XVII, II, p. 50.

Trident of Śiva is depicted on the coins of Sakhadeva and king ...Sena[1] on their obverse. Its association on their reverse with tree in railing or tree (?) respectively shows that they are *Sthala-vṛikshas* sacred to Śiva. Tree in railing occurs also on the coins of Mahata, and Sabalasena. The obverse of the coin of Yataga (?) bears a bull (?) and its reverse contains aconch. The obverse of the coin of Sabalasena bears a five petalled lotus whereas the obverse of a coin of Amitasena shows two crabs facing each other.

It appears on the basis of these symbols that the early local kings of Padmavati professed Brahmanism, particularly Saivism. The depiction of the trident and bull connects them with the later Nāga kings of the region.

The second group of Padmavati coins bear predominantly Nāga ending names, and are, therefore, correctly attributed to a local dynasty of Nāga kings. The *Purāṇas* refer to two Nāga kingships at Padmavati and at Mathura. They mention nine kings of the Padmavati line and seven kings belonging to the Nāga house of Mathura. But the *Purāṇas* do not give names of any of these kings. It is often supposed that some kings known from their Padmavati coins may actually belong to the Mathura line.[2] But it is not actually possible to assign any of these known Nāga kings to Mathura with certainty.[3] It seems more likely that the Nāgas of Padmavati later came to rule over Mathura as well, and the seven Nāga kings of Mathura are possibly identical with the last seven kings of Padmavati.[4]

The Nāgas of Padmavati are identified with the Bhāraśivas mentioned in Vākāṭaka inscriptions.[5] The Nāga kings known from their coins are Bhīmanāga,[6] Vibhunāga,[7] Prabhākaranāga,[8] Skanda-

1. Ibid, XVII, I, p. 55. The trident is however, without one of the prongs. It also shows 'a hill of three tiers made of seven arches.'
2. *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, p. 34.
3. Coins of Gaṇapatināga and Vīrasena etc. are also found from Mathura, and Gaṇapatināga, at least, is connected with the house of Mathura, cf. Ibid, p. 34 and n. 2.
4. S. Chattopadhyay, *Early History of North India*, p. 120.
5. *The Vakataka Gupta Age*, p. 33 ; *JNSI*, V, p. 21.
6. *JNSI*, XVII, II, pp. 52-3 ; Ibid, XV, II, p. 130 ; *CMI*, p. 23.
7. Ibid, V, p. 26 ; Ibid, XVII, II, p. 48.
8. *JNSI*, XV, II, pp. 134-35 ; Ibid, XVII, II, p. 52 ; B. Lahiri attributes the coins of Prabhunāga to this king, cf. Ibid., p. 52.

nāga,[1] Bṛihaspatināga,[2] Vṛishanāga or Vṛishabha,[3] Vyāghranāga[4] Vasunāga,[5] Devanāga,[6] Bhavanāga,[7] Gaṇapatināga,[8] Prabhunāga,[9] Ravināga,[10] and Vīrasena.[11] Altekar suggests the name of another king named Pum-nāga[12] whose coins are, however, not yet known, therefore, the case of this king appears to be rather doubtful.[13]

If the doubtful case of Prabhunāga is deleted with those of Gaṇapatināga and Virasena too who are often connected with the Mathura line of kings, even then ten Naga kings of Padmavati are known from coins. But the typology of the coins of both Gaṇapatināga and Vīrasena connects them more with Padmavati than with Mathura. Trivedi also connects twelve Nāga kings with Padmavati.[14]

The most prominent device occurring on the Nāga coins of Padmavati is that of a bull, the vāhana of Śiva. The bull on these coins is variously presented. On the coins of Vibhunāga and Vṛishbha occurs a humped bull on obverse. A couchant bull is depicted on the issues of Vīrasena, and a recumbent bull is shown on the obverse and reverse of Bṛihaspatināga and on

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1. *JASB*, 1865, p. 115; *JNSI*, XV, II, p. 131; *CMI*, p. 23.
2. *CMI*, p. 24; *JNSI*, XV, II, p. 131; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 259.
3. *JNSI*, XV, II, pp. 121-23; B. Lahiri reads the legend as *Vṛishabha* (Ibid, XVI, II, p. 279).
4. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 24.
5. *JNSI*, XIV, p. 76; Ibid, XV, II, pp. 131-132.
6. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 24; *JNSI*, XV, II, p. 133.
7. *JNSI*, V, pp. 23-24; Ibid, XVII, II, p. 46; Ibid, XIV, p. 74; Ibid, XXII, p. 260.
8. *CMI*, p. 24; *JNSI*, XV, II, p. 133; Ibid, XXII, p. 259.
9. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 77-78. Altekar in a f. n. says that the coin 'appears to be of Prabhakaranāga. Pumnāga is also just possible', Ibid, p. 78, n. B. Lahiri attributes these coins to Prabhākarnāga (*JNSI*, XVII, II, p. 52).
10. Ibid, XIV, p. 77; Ibid, XXXI, p. 71.
11. Ibid, XVII, II, pp. 48, 50.
12. *JNSI*, V, p. 130; Ibid, XIV, p. 78n.
13. Ibid, XVII, II, p. 51, n. 2. Trivedi could not trace the coin bearing this name. It appears to me that the reading Pumnaga may have been based on a misreading of some coin legend.
14. Cf. H. V. Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Naga Kings of Padmavati* (Gwalior, 1957), also for types etc. of all these kings.

the obverse of Skandanāga. A bull, walking, is shown on the obverse of Bhīmanāga and the reverse of some coins of Bhavasena. The depiction of a bull was also favoured by Vibhunāga, Vṛishbha, Bhavanāga, Ravināga, Prabhākara, and Gaṇapatināga. The simple bull is shown both on the obverse and reverse of their coins in some cases and only on obverse or reverse, on those of others.

A trident battle axe is depicted on the obverse of the coins of Vīrasena, Bṛihasptināga and Devanāga. A trident without any attachments is seen sometimes on obverse and on others on the reverse of Bhavanāga, whereas a battleaxe is shown on the reverse of some coins of Vibhunāga. A sickle or *Paraśu* (?) occurs on some coins of Prabhunāga (Prabhākara).

The obverse of some coins of Bhavanāga bears a crescent. The obverse of some coins of Vasunāga and Bhimanāga bear a peacock, the mount of Kārttikeya.

All these Śaiva symbols indicate the Śaiva leanings of the Nāgas of Padmavati and confirm their identity with the Bhāraśiva-Nāgas mentioned in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions[1]. The inscription shows that the Bhāraśivas carried the symbol on their shoulders, and performed ten horse sacrifices. The said symbol of Śiva could well be his *lingam*[2] or his *triśūla* as pointed out by Altekar.[3] Thus it can perhaps be rightly affirmed that the Bhāraśiva-nāgas of Padmavati raised Śaivism, their family religion, to the status of a state-religion. But we do not know its effects on the religious life of the people.

The epigraphic statement about the performance of ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices by the Bhāraśivas is perhaps partially confirmed by the depiction of a prancing horse on the obverse of some coins of Skandanāga and Gaṇapatināga. Altekar's suggestion that the animal on the obverse of some coins of Gaṇapatināga 'looks more like a bull with hump'[4] is not acceptable.

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1. Cf. Jāmba copperplate inscription of Pravarasena in *Vākāṭaka Rajavaṃśa Kā Itihāsa tathā Abhilêkha*, no. 3, p. 143.
2. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 168 ; *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p. 33 ; Mirashi, *Vākāṭaka Rājavaṃśa Kā Itihāsa tathā Abhilekha*, p. 24.
3. *JNSI*, V, p. 25.
4. Ibid, XV, II, p. 133, n. 1.

Other Brahmanical symbols include an eight spoked wheel,[5] and a rayed sun. The eight spoked wheel is shown on the coins of Vibhunāga, Devanāga, Vyāghranāga, and Bṛihaspatināga, whereas the rayed sun occurs on the reverse of a coin of Vṛishabha. The obverse of a coin of Vṛishabha bears a star.

The symbols whose religious connotation is not certain include Lion on the coins of Prabhākara (or Prabhunāga), daggers or spears on those of Vasunāga, sickle and arrow on those of Ravināga and Vibhunāga, arrow on those of Vibhunāga, spear-head on those of Bhīmanāga and Indrayashṭi on a coin of Ravināga.

It appears certain on the basis of Śaiva and Brahmanical symbols on Nāga coins as well as the performance of a number of horse sacrifices by them that the Bharaśiva-nāgas were Brahmanists professing Śaivism. It can naturally be assumed that Brahmanical sects must have flourished both at Padmavati and at Mathura under their rule.

1. The wheel cannot be taken as a Buddhist symbol in view of the predominantly Brahmanical nature of the devices found on Nāga coins.

A COMMEMORATIVE ŚUṄGA SEALING FROM KAUŚĀMBĪ

R. C. Tandon

[Pl. II]

A commemorative terracotta sealing of the Śuṅga period has recently passed into the collection of my son, J. C. Tandan, at Allahabad.

The provenance of the sealing is Kauśāmbī, an ancient site in Allahabad district, which keeps throwing up evidentiary data valuable for filling gaps in our knowledge of the far past and reconstructing bases for its fuller understanding.

The sealing which is in fairly good preservation consists of a ball of refined and well-baked clay, with four faces punched in it, each bearing an embossed scenic representation from an identical die. It carries no legend and its shape can be judged from the photographs. **(Pl. II. 1-2)**

The story unfolded by the sealing, as I read it, is that of Yavana (Indo-Greek) surrender following their confrontation with the Śuṅgas. As known to history, the great Pushyamitra had in preparation for his *Aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) loosened the horse escorted by his troops and an arry of a hundred tributary princes under his grandson Vasumitra. Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* mentions the horse being captured by the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu river. A conflict ensued and the Yavanas were defeated and the horse was brought back home by the escorts.

Epigraphical evidence regarding Pushyamitra's two horse-sacrifices is found in the well-known Ayodhyā inscription of the time[1] where he is mentioned as *dviraśvamedhayājin* or performer of two *Asvamedhas*.

There has been a controversy among scholars regarding the identity of the river Sindhu, the name of the Yavana ruler vanquished by the Śuṅgas, and also as to whether it was the first or

1. *EI*., xx, p. 57. [This epigraph belongs to the middle of the first century B.C. *N.A.*]

the second *Aśvamedha* which has performed after this historic event. In fact, the chronology of the period is quite confused. It is, however, not the purpose of this note to go into that controversy. The fact of such confrontation is admitted on all hands, as well as the resultant victory of the Śuṅgas.

Great must have been the jubilation of this Brahmanic ruler over this victory of his, against the formidable Indo-Greek hosts and no wonder the victory was celebrated as something in the nature of a national event.

The sealing now coming to light is a unique find commemorating this victory. Stylistically it is a typically Śuṅga piece,[1] and its dating would be somewhere in the middle or later part of the second century B. C.[2]

The sealing itself is a veritable gem of the clayworker's art, judged alike for its minutae, its aesthetic composition and the economic use of symbols in rendering a great historical event. The story is conceived and executed within an eye-shaped framework 2.4 cms long by 1.2 cms wide.

In the centre we have two figures representing the victor and the vanquished. The taller figure to the right of the centre should be that of Prince Vasumitra holding a long bow and accepting the surrender of the shorter Yavana figure whose identification for the present cannot be gone into with any certainty. The Hellenic

1. This paper, read before the Nagpur (1970) session of the Numismatic Society of India, perhaps calls for a postscript. I had taken for granted that the sealing in reference belonged to the Śuṅga period. In this conclusion of mine I had banked on the familiarity I had acquired with Śuṅga terracottas by handling literally hundreds of pieces from Kauśāmbī. There was here the flat relief characteristic of Śuṅga terracotta (for that matter also stone) art. The turban of the main figure with its protruding knot proclaimed it as Śuṅga. The chariot depicted was of the type of Śuṅga toy chariots.

I had confessed my failure to identify the object at the extreme left of the scene depicted in the sealing and ventured the opinion that it might be a basket carrying tributes.

Doubt was raised in the course of the discussion regarding the dating of the sealing and it was suggested that the unidentified object was really a Kushāṇa symbol. The dating itself having thus become controversial my interpretation of the scene depicted was naturally out of court.

I have since tried to find out what possible the Kushāṇa symbol, the unidentified object, could be. I confess to having failed in my search.

2. [Dhavalikar dates it to the first century B.C. *N. A.*]

headgear of the shorter figure, however, really provides the key to the theme. The iconography of the taller figure with the long Indian bow so well noticed by Greek invaders under Alexander is also interesting as a precursor of similar representations of royal figures on our ancient coins.

Behind the taller figure and forming a background to it, at the right end corner of the scene, stands a chariot with two long-eared spirited horses yoked to the vehicle of which the left wheel is clearly in view. The figure of the charioteer made lively with his raised whip is also there. Incidentally, the tradition that the custodian of the loosened sacrificial horse followed the animal on a chariot finds a pictorial confirmation here. The relative heights of the two central figures are in keeping with the Indian convention of making height conform to the importance of the subject.

On the point of identification of the taller figure, it may not be irrelevant to mention that Vasumitra was known to his age as a famous bowman. That is perhaps why Kālidāsa in Act V of his *Mālavikāgnimitra* (in the course of Pushyamitra's letter to his son Agnimitra) refers to the retrieving of the *Aśvamedha* horse by the "Bowman Vasumitra" (*Vasumitrena dhanvinā*). In the light of this attribute of Vasumitra the somewhat aggressive display of the long bow becomes meaningful.

Overheading the shorter figure is a row of three pitchers or *ghaṭas* symbolishing the conveyance of the tribute from the vanquished to the victor. Noteworthy is the progressive reduction in size of these pitchers as they recede from the centre, suggesting in perspective that the offering was being presented on behalf of the vanquished party. The object behind the shorter figure is difficult to identify. It looks like a basket with offering and further betokens surrender[1].

1. An additional detail might be taken into account. There are two taurine symbols in the sealing : one over the head of the tall figure, and the other near the bottom. This symbol is of frequent occurrence both on uninscribed and inscribed coins from Kauśāmbī of the second and first centuries B. C. This symbol is found also on earlier and later coinage of Kauśāmbī. The Director of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Shri A. K. Bhattacharyya, discussing of the sealing with me, however, pointed out the relevance of the taurine symbol in the context of its principal figure. The taurine symbol, he said, was special to the Śaivites, and the house of Pushyamitra was Śaivite in its persuation. This is of more than casual interest.

I would like to say in the end that my interpretation of the sealing may not be regarded as more than tentative. In fact the sealing requires close study by competent authorities. In case, however, my reading finds scholarly support, it may not be too much to say that we have in this sealing a very significant artistic evidence of a great event, almost matching in value the literary evidence provided by Kālidāsa's drama *Mālavikāgnimitra.*[1]

1. On the subject of dating the sealing I requested M. K. Dhavalikar, whose special line of study enables him to assign dates to objects on the evidence of costumes, jewellery and other accesories depicted in the plastic creations. He has set out the results of his independent enquiry in a separate paper he is contributing to the *JNSI*. He has supported my dating. I also requested S. L. Katare who took much interest in the sealing to give me the benefit of his views in regard to its period. He is independently working on the sealing. As to its dating, however, he wrote to me on February 20, 1971: "I have begun to think that you are right in your estimate of its chronology."

   I guess the curtain has just been raised on an interesting and to my mind an important topic and surely the matter will be further thrashed out.

[The paper contributed by Dhavalikar on this sealing is published in this very number.

N.A.]

ON THE DATE OF THE KAUŚĀMBĪ SEALING

M. K. Dhavalikar

R. C. Tandon read a paper on a unique sealing found from Kausambi at the Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India held at Nagpur in November 1970.[1] Since the dating of the Sealing to the Śuṅga period and the identification of the scene on it has become controversial, Tandon showed it to me for my opinion about its probable date.

The present study is solely based on the evidence of the material culture that is depicted in the sealing. In this cennection, it may be stated that the study of the material culture represented in the plastic arts is as yet a neglected branch of ancient Indian culture. My studies in this branch demonstrate that we can assign approximate dates to art objects solely on the basis of the evidence of costume, jewellery and such other items depicted in the plastic arts. The present study is yet one more attempt of mine in this direction.

The sealing portrays a scene which is remarkable for its story telling effect. In the centre there are two men facing each other. Of these two, the one on the right, who is taller, holds a long bow in his left hand while the right hand is slightly raised up. The person on the left is standing with his right hand hanging down; the left hand, however, is not clearly seen. On extreme right is a two-horse chariot with a chariotteer holding a whip in his right hand. On exteme left there are three pitchers in a row, below which is some indistinct object which has been identified by Tandon as a basket containing tributes to the victorious king.

It may be made clear at the outset that the sealing in question is extremely small in size. It is roughly oval in shape. Its maximum length is 24 mm. and the maximum width is 12 mm. The sealing being too small many items of cultural equipment depicted in it cannot be distinctly made out. However, there are some items which can be made out and are therefore helpful in dating the sealing approximately.

1. [This paper is published in this Journal. *N.A.*]

The central human figure, which is taller than the other on the left, is rather indistinct. The figure has been identified by Tandon as that of Prince Vasumitra. He holds a long bow. It is a simple curved bow which is equal to the height of the person wielding it. Arrian, one of the historians who accompanied Alexander the Great in his expedition of India, observes that Indian bow was "made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they (Indians) rest upon ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breast-plate, not any stronger defence if such there be."[1]

As already stated it is a simple, single curved bow as against the double curved, conjoint bow which was introduced in India by the Scythians. It becomes common in India during the Gupta period and its excellent illustrations are found in the later group of paintings at Ajanta. The evidence of plastic arts is also supported by literary references to the conjoint bow[2] The single curved bow was extremely common as is evident from its illustrations in early Indian art.[3]

There is another person facing the central figure. This person has been identified by Tandon as the Yavana king. He wears a half sleeved tunic, reaching the knees. This variety of stitched garments was introduced in India by Scythians.[4] It can be identified as the *kūrpāsaka*, an appellation which explains the nature of its sleeves, reaching the elbow. The garment is still in vogue in the Maharashtra villages where it is known as the *koparī* which is obviously a derivation of the Sk *kūrpāsaka* An exactly similar tunic is worn by a Scythian soldier sculptured in a Bharhut relief.[5]

That the person wearing the tunic is a foreigner (*yavana*) is further confirmed by the characteristic headgear which he is shown

1. R.C. Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 230.
2. *Śiśupālavadha*, XX, 12.
3. John Marshall, A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, (1940), Pl. XV.
4. V. S. Agrawala, "*Indian Clothes in Harshacharita*", (in Hindi) *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, 57 (1952-53), p. 326.
5. B. M. Barua, *Bharhut*, (Calcutta, 1937), Book III, Pl. LXII, 71.

wearing The headgear is a spiked helmet similar to that worn by Indo-Greek kings and its excellent illustrations are to be found in the coins of Indo-Greek rulers[1]. If we accept the evidence furnished by plastic arts as reliable, we can definitely say that this type of helmet was not worn by Indians, even later. The only exception to this is the *mahout* shown in a late Mahayana painting at Ajanta (Sutasoma Jataka, Cave XVII) who is shown wearing such spiked helmet[2]. This, however, shows that the spiked helmet was usually worn by the Hellenistic Greeks in India.

Over the head of the foreigner are seen three *ghaṭas* or pitchers in one row. Though successively diminishing in size, they are all of identical shape. They have a wide, flaring mouth, a short constricted neck and a globular body. The shape is quite common in the early period. A very similar *ghaṭa* is in the Kensington Museum.[3] It is of bronze and is profusely decorated with incised designs. It is dated to second century B C. on the basis of stylistic evidence of the scene engraved on the *ghaṭa*. It may also be stated that the shape continued even later in the Gupta period when it was provided with a ring base. An excellent specimen of this type is reported from Kasia. It is made of copper and is dated to fifth century A. D.[4] This particular shape has been identified by V. S. Agrawala as the *kañchana-āchāmaruka*, a globular jar referred to by Bāṇa.[5]

Below the jars, is an indistinct object which has been identified by Tandon as a basket. In none of the four impressions of the seal, this object is clearly seen and it cannot therefore be identified with certainty. According to Tandon, the pitchers and the basket contain tributes brought by the Yavana king for presenting to Prince Vasumitra.

On extreme right of the scene is a chariot with two horses, being driven by a charioteer who has a whip in his right hand. According to Tandon it represents the tradition that the custodian of the loosened sacrificial horse followed the animal on a

1. See A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, (Calcutta, 1965) Pls. III, 2; HVI, 2 etc.
2. The soldier wearing a spiked helmet in a Nagarjunakonda panel is a foreigner, possibly a Scythian.
3. *ASWI*, Vol. V, (Varanasi, 1964), p. 6, Fig. 4.
4. *ARASI*, *1910-11*, p. 65, Pl. XXXIV, b.
5. *Harshacharita–Ek Samskritik Adhyayan*, (Patna, 1953), p. 85.

chariot finds a pictorial confirmation here. Be that as it may, the chariot is interesting from point of view of the present study. The chariot is simple in construction. It is mounted on two wheels and has a raised front guard. Such simple chariots are characteristic of the early period and they are commonly represented in the Śuṅga and the Sātavāhana art at Bharhut[1] and Sanchi[2] respectively. The chariots of the Gupta period have a box like frame which is lavishly ornamented. They were then used more for joy-rides. The chariot in the sealing therefore also points to an early date of the sealing. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the chariot is exactly similar to that on the Kensington *ghaṭa* referred to above.

The foregoing analysis of the items of cultural equipment which have been depicted in the sealing points to an early date of the sealing somewhere around first century B. C. According to Tandon the scene portrayed in the sealing represents the surrender of a Yavana (Indo-Greek) prince to the Śuṅga prince Vasumitra, a subject which has been so graphically described by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavika-Āgnimitra*. In the light of our dating of the sealing in question to first century B. C., Tandon's indentification appears tenable.[3]

1. Barua, *op. cit.*, Pl. L, 52.
2. M. K. Dhavalikar, *Sanchi-A Cultural Study*, (Poona, 1965), Fig. 61.
3. [It may be noted here that this sealing on the basis of the comparative study of its cultural equipments at the earliest is placed in the first century B. C. and Pushyamitra's grandson Vasumitra fought with the Indo-Greeks in 150 B.C. Therefore, can we accept that this sealing represents the scene of the surrender of a Yavana prince to Vasumitra? *N.A.*]

A SERIES OF STRUCK COPPER IMITATIONS OF THE KANISHKA-HUVISHKA COINAGE AND ITS LINKS WITH THE CAST PURI-KUSHĀṆA COINAGE

M. B. Mitchiner

[Pl. III]

The twentyfour coins described in this paper comprise six coins in the British Museum collection, an individually acquired coin in the author's collection and seventeen coins that the author recently acquired in London from a coin collection formed in Bengal at the beginning of this century. One can infer that the coins were issued in the general order in which they are described insofar as progressive decrease in coin weight (13 to 7 gm.) and diameter (25 to 21 mm) is associated with deterioration in style and with progressive changes in the coin type. Two coins have an elephant-rider obverse type, the others show a standing king ; all the coins have a standing deity as reverse type.

The coins are as follows :—

TYPE 1. 25 mm., 13.32 gm.

Obv. : King standing facing wearing a knee-length garment with a horizontal hemline. No altar, trident or legend.

Rev. : Deity standing with right forearm raised and left arm lowered[1]. No symbol or legend. **(Pl. III. 1)**

TYPE 2. 23 mm., 12.49 gm.

Obv. : King standing facing wearing similar garment ; the right upper arm is horizontal with the forearm raised, the left arm is lowered to an altar. No trident or legend.

Rev. : Deity standing facing left and wearing a knee length garment with her left arm horizontal and right hand on hip. Symbol beneath left arm. **(Pl. III. 2)**

TYPE 3. 24 mm., 12.03 gm.

Cruder and with a simpler reverse symbol. **(Pl. III. 3)**

TYPE 4. 23 mm., 12.31 gm.

Circular reverse symbol with six rays. **(Pl. III. 4)**

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1. Left and right refer to the left and right sides of the coin.

TYPE 5. 24 mm., 12.12 gm., British Museum.

The deity wears a sword and the reverse symbol is different.

(Pl. III. 5)

TYPE 6. 23 mm., 10.13 gm. and 22 mm, 10.29 gm and British Museum 8.92 gm.

The altar is triangular and is joined to the king's left arm ; the deity wears a sword and there is no symbol.

(Pl. III. 6)

TYPE 7. 24 mm., 10.72 gm.

Obv. : King riding elephant right, no legend.

Rev. : As type 6. **(Pl. III. 7)**

TYPE 8. 23 mm., 9.48 gm.

The left forearm of the deity is more steeply raised.

(Pl. III. 8)

TYPE 9. 22 mm., 10.20 gm., 22 mm., 9.21 gm., and 23 mm., 8.92 gm. 23 mm., 9.12 gm. (Author acquired individually).

Obv. : Standing king as on types 2 to 6 but with small altar shaped like a letter 'H' on its side.

Rev. : As type 8 but the deity has no sword. **(Pl. III. 9)**

TYPE 10. 23 mm., 9.87 gm.

The altar is much larger, symbol to right of king.

(Pl. III. 10)

TYPE 11. 24 mm., 9.58 gm. British Museum ; 8.64 gm. British Museum.

Mirror image obverse type. **(Pl. III. 11)**

TYPE 12. 23 mm., 9.32 gm.

As type 10 but two obverse types. **(Pl. III. 12)**

TYPE 13. 22 mm., 8.66 gm. and British Museum 23 mm., 7.53 gm.

As type 10 but two reverse types. **(Pl. III. 13)**

TYPE 14. 21 mm., 7.24 gm. and 22 mm., 7.23 gm. and British Museum 6.84 gm.

Obv. : King standing with left arm raised and right arm lowered; no altar.

Rev. : Deity as on type 10. **(Pl. III. 14)**

TYPE 15. 23 mm., 6.79 gm.
King's left arm raised to a nearly vertical position. **(Pl III. 15)**

This series of coins commences with imitations of Kanishka's copper coinage, it contains copies of Huvishka's elephant rider coinage in its middle part and it ends with lighter and cruder derivatives of the previous Kanishka imitations. The general order in which they were issued can be inferred from such features as progressive determination in style and coin weight and progressive alterations in the posture of the obverse and reverse persons and in the forms of the altar and field symbols. Type 1 is the heaviest coin and differs from other types in a number of respects though it is more closely related to this series than to any other post-Kushāṇa coinage. The next group of issues, types 2 to 5, are closely related to each other in type and style, all show a small altar on the obverse and they are the only coins with reverse symbols. They weigh between 12 and 12.5 gm. whereas subsequent coins weigh less than 11 gm. On types 6 to 8 the deity wears a sword; of these types 6 and 7 show the deity with the left forearm slightly raised as on previous types while type 8 shows the forearm sharply raised as on all later types. These coins weigh between 9.5 and 10.7 gm. and are further separated by their obverses. Type 6 retains the standing king but shows a new triangular form of altar; the other types show Huvishka's elephant-rider obverse. The remaining coins continue the standing king obverse type and, with one exception, weigh less than 10 gm. The reverse deity retains a sharply raised left forearm as on type 8 but now has no sword. On type 9 there is a small altar shaped like a letter 'H' on its side; this becomes a large altar of the same design on type 10 which is the prototype of the three following issues. One of these issues consists of three coins with a double reverse while another is a coin with a double obverse and the third is a coin with a mirror image obverse. This group of coins is followed by the last two issues; these coins weigh less than 7.5 gm. and retain the same form of reverse deity but they omit the altar from the obverse and show the king with his left arm raised instead of his right arm and with his right arm lowered instead of his left arm.

Since the series contains imitations of both Kanishka's and Huvishka's coins the first half of the series was presumably struck

when the coinage of these two Kushāṇa kings was circulating. The weight standard to which these coins were struck suggests that the series probably commenced about the middle of Huvishka's reign. Full denominations of Kanishka's copper coinage weigh around 17 gm.[1] and Huvishka's early issues weigh around 15 to 16 gm.. while his later coins weigh 10 to 12 gm. and his somewhat scarcer terminal issues weigh 6 to 10 gm.. In the imitative series described here coins of the first five types weigh 12-13.3 gm. and the Huvishka imitations weigh 9.5-10.7 gm.. This imitative series presumably commenced when the Kushāṇa coinage become inadequate for the local requirements of a particular region and would, by inference, have been tariffed as equivalent to the Kushāṇa denomination and would have been struck to a weight standard not for removed from the prevailing Kushāṇa weight standard. This suggests that they commenced about the middle of Huvishka's reign.

This series is only one of a number of series of Kushāṇa imitations. Other series are divisible into two major groups, those which are cast and those which are struck. Nearly all the cast imitations derive ultimately from prototypes of Kanishka and belong to the Puri-Orissa group while nearly all the struck imitations, apart from the present series, derive from prototypes of Huvishka and appear to comprise a number of separate series. Of some fifty Huvishka imitations in the collections of the British Museum and the author the majority weigh between 4 and 10 gm. (range 1 to 14.5 gm) and about two-thirds imitate his elephant-rider type. Most of the heavier coins show parts of legends, either in Greek or in Brāhmī while nearly all of them have a well-defined reverse symbol. These other struck Huvishka imitations are very different from the two coins described as types 7 and 8 not only in fabric and style but also in such features as their low relief and absence of Greek or Brāhmī characters and field symbols. In fact types 7 and 8 are much closer to the Puri-Orissa Huvishka imitations from the Sitabhinji hoard[2].

The Puri-Orissa (Puri-Kushāṇa, Oriya-Kushāṇa) cast coinage consists of coins which, for the most part, weigh between 7 and

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1. *JNSI*, 1960, pp. 63-74.

2. *Ibid*, 1951, pp. 69-72.

10 gm.[1] and show a standing figure on both obverse and reverse. They are without altar or legend and without symbols apart from a large crescent which appears on most types. Allan[2] has divided the British Museum coins into 8 major varieties and has discussed various hoards found in the general region of Orissa. More recent finds and new types have been discussed by A. Banerji[3], T. N. Ramachandran[4] and D.K. Ganguly[5] among others. Ramachandran has published two coins from the Sitabhinji hoard with an elephant-rider obverse type and a reverse type showing a deity with the same posture as on types 7 and 8 (the elephant-rider coins) in the struck series described here. If Ramachandran's coins are cast (he does not say) then they persumably belong to the Puri-Orissa series as he infers but the coins appear so similar to my coins that one would like to know if they are really struck imitations that belong with the coins published here. Other Puri-Orissa coins also show links with this struck series. The coins without a crescent in the field (variety *a* of Allan's classification and class I of Ganguly) show the obverse and reverse persons with the same postures as the king and deity on types 4-6 and 9 in the struck series. Seven of these struck coins have a mean weight of 10.4 gm. while six of the cast coins have a mean weight of 8.9 gm. . Among the Puri-Orissa coins with a crescent one variety (variety *d* of Allan) shows both persons with the same posture as on the double obverse struck issue (type 12) while another variety (variety *e* of Allan) is a mirror image of this and Ramachandran's coin 1 appears to show the same postures as on the last two struck issues. The existence of double obverse, double reverse and mirror image coins in the struck series deserves some comment. Such imperfections usually occur in degenerate coin series where the moneyers were apparently not familiar with the significance of the coin types. Among about fifty Huvishka copies studied by the author only

1. Some coins of variety *h* in the *British Museum Catalogue* only weigh around 5 gm. ; other light weight coins are noted by A. Banerji, *JNSI*, 1947, pp. 105-115.

2. J. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. 205 ff.

3. *JNSI*, 1947, pp. 105-115.

4. *Ibid*, 1951, pp. 69-72.

5. *Ibid*, 1966, pp. 6-11.

two or three show mirror image types and none show two obverses or two reverses but in the struck series described here five out of twenty-four coins show these imperfections. This trait appears to become even more marked in the Puri-Orissa coinage where many coins show the same obverse and reverse types.

This series of struck Kanishka-Huvishka imitations has more links with ths cast Puri-Orissa coinage than with other series of struck Kushāṇa imitations and in many respects forms an intermediate series between the official Kushāṇa coinage and the Puri-Orissa coinage. This is particularly true of the Puri-Orissa coins without a crescent; they appear to be the earliest coins on stylistic grounds and could well be imitations, at a slightly lower weight standard, of types 4-6 and 9 of the struck series. The links between this series and the Puri-Orissa coinage, together with the apparent origin of the series during Huvishka's reign, suggest that the series was issued to the east of the Kushāṇa kingdom though the evidence is insufficient to say whether the issuing state was just inside or just outside the Kushāṇa borders. This conclusion is consistent with the origin of most of the coins from a collection that was formed in Bengal.

In summary, this paper describes a series of struck imitations of the Kanishka-Huvishka copper coinage which shows affinities with the cast Puri Orissa coinage, appears to have commenced about the middle of Huvishka's reign and was probably issued by a state in the lower Ganges valley.

Table of Type Details

Type	Posture of king	Posture of deity	Altar	Symbol
1			none	none
2	,,			
3	,,	,,		

4	,,	,,	,,	
5	,,	,,	,,	
6	,,	,,		none
7	Elephant rider	,,	none	none
8	,,		none	none
9		,,		none
10	,,	,,		
11[1]	,,	,,	,,	none
12	,,	as obverse	,,	none
13	As reverse		none	none
14		,,	none	none
15		,,	none	none

[1]

1. Type 11 has a mirror image obverse type.

CHANDRAGUPTA-KUMĀRADEVĪ COIN TYPE

T. P. Verma

The Chandragupta I-Kumāradevī coin-type is one of the most discussed coins of Indian numismatics. So far three claimants to this coin-type have come forward, viz. Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and the Lichchhavis. As regards its nature there are two distinct groups of the scholars; one group regards this coin-type as a regular issue and the other thinks it to be of a commemorative nature. Those who regard it a regular issue, Altekar[1] being the greatest advocate, attribute this coin-type to Chandragupta I. The supporters of the commemorative theory, if we call it that way, are again divided in two groups. One attributes this coin-type to Samudragupta; Allan[2], S. V. Sohni[3] and V. S. Pathak[4] being some of them. V. S. Agrawala[5] is of the opinion that the issuers of this coin-type were the Lichchhavis.

If this coin-type be attributed to Samudragupta then he will be regarded as the originator of the Gupta numismatic, but if it is taken to be issued by Chandragupta I then this credit must go to him. Here lies the real importance of this coin-type.

Early numismatists like Smith, etc. attributed these coins to Chandragupta I, who was assumed to have issued them jointly with the Lichchhavis and their princess Kumāradevī, his consort. It was Allan[6] who first suggested the commemorative nature of these coins and attributed it to Samudragupta on stylistic basis and other numismatic considerations. But Altekar refuted his view and maintained that these coins were issued by Chandragupta I signifying the joint rule with his wife Kumāradevī. But some of his reasons are completely based on imaginations and we do not find any support for them from any other side, viz.

(i) so much influence of the Lichchhavis in the Gupta administration,

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1. Altekar, A.S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 26-32.
2. *Catalogue of Coins in British Museum, Gupta Dynasty etc.*, p. § 70-73 & 80.
3. *JNSI*, 1957, pp. 147-48.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 141-42.
5. *JNSI*, XVII, I, p. 119.
6. *Op. cit.*

(ii) joint rule of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī,

(iii) his long rule, but

(iv) formal coronation as Mahārājādhirāja a few years before his death.

Here one may ask if it was joint rule of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī what is the meaning of the reverse legend '*Lichchhavayaḥ*'? Does it mean that the Lichchhavis—a republican people—came into alliance for the joint administration with an emperor simply because a daughter of one of their members, howsoever important he may be, was given in marriage to an ambitious king? Or, if they had developed into a monarchical form, the other party should be a man, not a clan as a whole, let us suppose him to be the father-in-law or brother-in-law of Chandragupta I then why this *Lichchhavayaḥ* in plural?

Altekar's example of William III and Mery II of England[1] also does not apply here because of an entirely different cultural background in both these countries.

So, this is how Altekar faces Allan's argument of relatively slavish imitation of Kushāṇa types. Now we will see this problem of imitation in detail.

It is generally agreed that there is a general similarity between the latter coins of the Kushāṇas and the earliest coins of the Guptas. Nearer the coin-type to its prototype earlier it is in its sequence of the issue. But before we should accept this a note of caution must be added that it is not likely that the Guptas inherited Kushāṇa mints during their early times so almost every imitation was well thought and not a slavish imitation as it necessarily would happen in the case of being issued from the same mints.

On the obverse we see two human figures, king on the right and the queen on the left. King wears the Kushāṇa dress in all details except the headdress. The pose of the king is also the same as on its prototype But in place of the *triśūla* in front of the king on Kushāṇa coins figure of the queen is replaced. The same thing can be noticed on the Standard and Archer types of the coins of Samudragupta. There *triśūla* is replaced by Garuḍadhwaja or

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

bow. The posture of the king is strikingly similar to that on the Kushāṇa prototype and the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type. Garuḍadhwaja occupies exactly the same position as the trident on Standard type; but on the other hand on Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type of coins king is displaced a bit to right in order to make room for Kumāradevī. Thus Kumāradevī shares almost equal space on the coin. This displacement and the change of a *triśūla* or Garuḍadhwaja into a human figure requires more numismatic art and skill and deviates comparatively more from the socalled numismatic conventions as compared to the Standard and Archer types of Samudragupta.

On the reverse, goddess seems to be the combination of the reverse types of Huvishka and Kanishka III, i. e goddess is shown seated on a lion while the traces of the back of throne are clearly visible. Here once again we see that the throne is seen on the Standard and the Archer types of the coins of Samudragupta with little difference in details to that on the Huvishka's coins. The substitution of a sitting lion is somewhat a later step in Gupta numismatic art. As we see that the Gupta artist later on got rid of the throne-back this coin-type will come later than the Standard and Archer types of Samudragupta. Sohni[1] observes the development of the drawings of cornucopiæ on Kushāṇa coins and is of the opinion that 'if increasing departure from an original type would measure progress of evolution, no. 3 came not before but after no. 4. Here it should be mentioned that figure no. 3 (*JNSI*, xix, I, p. 164) is based on drawings on Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin-types; and figure no. 4 is derived from Samudragupta's Standard type. Thus on the basis of the evolution of type devices the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coin-type comes after the Standard and the Archer types of Samudragupta.

Altekar[2] recognises this deity as Durga on the basis of lion and regards her to be the tutelary goddess of the Lichchhavis without much justification. On the other hand Sohni[3] does not recognise the lion but takes it to be a lion-throne and thus thinks this deity to be Rājya-Lakshmī.

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1. *Op. cit.*, Vol. XIX pt. II. p. 165.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 31 ; R.K. Mookerji also thinks this deity to be Durga. cf. *The Gupta Empire*, p. 33.
3. *Op. cit.* XIX, II, p. 167.

Metrology also is not in favour of putting this coin as the first in Gupta series. It is a well accepted fact that right from the reign of Samudragupta there is a gradual increase in the weight of the Gupta gold coins in every successive reign. Out of 143 of Standard type coins of Samudragupta 47 coins are below 115 grains, a majority of 71 coins falls between 116 and 117 grains, whereas 53 coins are between 118 and 121 grains; and only 4 coins are above 121 grains.[1] On the other hand out of 10 coins of Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type in Bayana Hoard 7 coins belong to 121 grain standard and only 3 to 118-119 grain standard.[2]

Regarding the commemorative nature of these coins Altekar suggests that it cannot be taken to be a commemorative medal of Samudragupta as there is no indication of his name on the reverse. Instead we find the name of the Lichchhavis on the reverse. According to the Indo-Greek commemorative formula the Lichchhavis should be regarded as the commemorators. Agrawala[3] is in favour of this view. But this cannot be accepted as there is no evidence to show that this coin-type was issued by the Lichchhavis and secondly there is no ground to believe that the coin-type in question is other than a Gupta coin.

Now only one claimant remains and that is Samudragupta. While stylistic, typological and metrological evidences seem to be in his favour there is no other evidence to attribute this coin-type to him The objection is the absence of his name or *biruda* on the coin-type. Before we discuss this we must have a look of the obverse device of the coin-type.

On the obverse king is standing on the right holding something in his right hand and on the left queen is seen standing. It is remarkable that queen is to the right of the king which is not her right position. Secondly Altekar took it to be a marriage scene, king offering something like *sindūradānī* or a bangle or *kaṭaka.* But the posture is not that of taking any thing from the king as the position of her hands indicate.[4] She is only looking at the thing in king's hand. So to him this is a scene of departure for a

1. *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard,* § 242.
2. *Ibid,* § 241 & pp. 1-6.
3. *Op. cit.*, XVII, I, p. 119.
4. cf. figures in *JNSI*, XIX, II, p. 149.

battlefield. But Pathak[1] observes that this is surely a marriage scene. Before the completion of the marriage bride is placed to the right, it is only after the *saubhāgya pradāna* by the bridegroom the position of the bride changes. This is to be seen in many cases in Indian Art. Kalyāṇa-Sundara image in Elephanta cave no 1 is one example of this. So according to him this is a *saubhāgya*-giving ritual scene—one of the most important ceremonials in a Hindu marriage. No other scene could have been more befitting to commemorate a marriage. Kumāragupta I also commemorated his marriage by issuing King and Queen type (*CGE,* Pl. XIV. 4). Skandagupta too issued normal King-and-Queen type (ibid, Pl. XIV, 12-13) where queen occupies left position.

Sohni seems right in speculating the situation of Samudragupta's accession to the throne when he felt the necessity of getting some help from his mother's side also. On the basis of Indian epigraphs Pathak[2] has tried to show that only *Dvamushyāyanas* call themselves to be the *dauhitra* of some person. If some king refers himself as being a *dauhitra* of some person it means that he has inherited his mother's father also, and not simply because his maternal grandfather was a great king. This shows his double parentage. Probably because of this he says himself to be श्री चन्द्रगुप्त पुत्रस्य लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यांमुत्पन्नस्य. This explains his double parentage. Pathak suggests that Samudragupta translated this formula into numismatic devices. Even if one does not accepts his reconstruction, it shall have to be admitted that the two sides of the coin represent the two kind of parentage-natural and subsidiary, of Samudragupta as mentioned in the Allahabad Stone Inscription.

But the absence of his name or *biruda* still can not be accounted for. And on the contrary if we take it of Chandragupta I the reverse legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* cannot be explained satisfactorily. And since it is unlikely for a king to issue only commemorative medals through out his reign as will be the case if we accept Chandragupta I its issuer it is preferable to attribute this coin-type to Samudragupta who probably struck them to show his little to kingship, when it was challanged by his rivals.

1. *Op. cit.*, XIX, pt. II, pp. 137-38.
2. *Op. cit.*, XIX, pt. II, pp. 140-41.

IMPERIAL GUPTA SEALS : A REVIEW

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal

Seals and sealings belonging to Śrīgupta (or Gupta), Samudragupta, Ghaṭotkachagupta, Budhagupta, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta (II or III), Vishṇugupta and Vainyagupta have been discovered and throw new light on the genealogy and chronology of the Imperial Guptas. But some of these have also given rise to controversies regarding the identification and status of some of the rulers and generally a cloud of uncertainty hangs over the history, genealogy and reign periods of the later Imperial Gupta kings.

1. Śrīgupta or Gupta

Two sealings in the Indian Museum, nos. 4681-A12865 and 4671-A 12859, from Sunet (Ludhiana District) bear the legend *Śrīguptasya* in deep incuse in characters of *circa* third or fourth century A.D. The first does not contain any device while the second bears the device of a *triśūla*. A few sealings of the type mentioned first, from the same site, are in the collection of G. B. Sharma of the Indian Air Force and one of these has been published recently.[1] It is, no doubt, tempting to identify Śrīgupta of the sealings with *Mahārāja* Śrīgupta, the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. However, the find-spot[2] and the absence of any royal epithet do not lend support to this view. More doubtful would be the identification of Gupta (legend *Gutasya* in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit) of a British Museum seal with this first Gupta ruler[3]. There is a great controversy as to whether the name of the first Gupta king was Śrīgupta or simply Gupta[4], *Śrī* being an honorific prefix in the latter case. As pointed out by B. Ch. Chhabra, *Gupta* occurs as a name of Vishṇu in the *Vishṇusahasranāma*.[5]

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1. *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 98-99.
2. It is generally believed that the territories of the Guptas described in the Purāṇas as confined to the area including Magadha Prayāga and Sāketa denote the extent of the kingdom of Chandragupta I. See Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 6th ed., p. 534.
3. [*JRAS*, 1905, p. 814. – *N.A.*]
4. [The Genealogical seals of the Later Imperial Guptas also supports that the name of the founder is Gupta. *N.A.*]
5. *JNSI*, IX, pp. 141-42. The British Museum sealing also supports the view that *Gupta* itself was the name. Cf. the names Datta, Śarman, Varmma, etc.

2—Gayā Copper-plate seal of Samudragupta

The seal of the Gaya Gopper-plate of Samudragupta bearing the device of Garuḍa (represented as a bird) standing with wings spread out has a badly mutilated legend of five lines of which the only decipherable word *Sam(u)drag(u)ptaḥ* occurs at the end of the last line.[1] The characters on the seal are different from those on the plate. The seal seems to be a genuine one, detached from some copper-plate of Samudragupta, and attached to the present plate which is generally regarded as spurious.[2]

3—Parākrama sealing from Sunet

A Sunet sealing bearing the figure of a horse with *yūpa* in front and the legend *parākrama*—an epithet characteristic of Samudragupta—in all probability, belongs to hi n.[3]

4—Basarh sealing of Dhruvasvāminī

It refers to Dhruvasvāminī (i.e. Dhruvadevī) as queen of *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta and mother of *Mahārāja* Govindagupta[4]. The fact that Dhruvadevī is mentioned as mother of Govindagupta (and not of Kumāragupta) has given rise to the suggesticn that he was perhaps a *Yuvırāja*. Govindagupta of the sealing is generally identified with the homonym mention in a Mandasor inscription[5]. The hyperbolic bombast used regarding the achievements of Govindagupta has further led certain scholars to suggest that his status was that of a king (and not of a governoı[6]) and that he should have ruled between G.E. 93 and 96 for which period we have no records of either Chandragupta II or Kumāragupta I. An alternate suggestion is that he revolted during the reign of Kumāragupta I. The Mandasor inscription alludes to Indra being suspicious of Govindagupta's power and Indra has been identified with Kumāragupta I whose title was Mahendra. The evidence, however, is not conclusive.

1. *CII*, III, p. 255, pl. facing p. 256.
2. See *ibid.*, pp. 255-56.
3. *JRAS*, 1901, p. 102, no. 3.
4. *ASIAR*, 1903-4, p. 107, No. 1.
5. *Ibid*, 1922-23, p. 187.
6. *IHQ*, XXII, pp. 286-89 ; *IC*, XI, p. 231 ; *PIHC*, 1960, pp. 50-55 ; *All Ind. Or. Conf.*, Varanasi Session, 1968, *Summaries of Papers*, p. 135 ; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India [EHNI]*, 2nd Ed., p. 214.

7170A

6—Basarh sealing of Ghaṭotkachagupta

The sealing bears the legend *Śrī Ghaṭotkachaguptasya*.[1] The honorific prefix *Śrī* might suggest that Ghaṭotkachagupta of the sealing was an important person[2]. The possible identification of our sealing with the second king of the Gupta dynasty has been suggested by some scholars[3]. It should, however, be noted that the latter is invariably mentioned in the official records of the Guptas simply as *Ghaṭotkacha*, and not *Ghaṭotkachagupta*, and also Basarh (Vaiśālī), the find-spot of the seal, does not seem to have formed a part of the Gupta kingdom during his reign.[4]

Ghaṭotkachagupta of our sealing is very possibly identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the Tumain fragmentary inscription of G.E. 116 (A.D. 435-36)[5] where he is mentioned immediately after Kumāragupta. He is stated to have won great fame by the prowess of his arms, following in the footsteps of his ancestors. The date of the inscription falls within the reign of Kumāragupta I. As such, Ghaṭotkachagupta was probably a son or a brother of Kumāragupta I and a viceroy in the eastern parts of Malwa[6] for sometime. The sealing suggests that he had also been an officer at Vaiśālī. He has further been identified with the issuer of the coin in St. Petersberg Collection which bears on the obverse the word *Ghaṭo* beneath the king's arm and the marginal legend ending in *(gu)ptaḥ* ; on the reverse it has the legend *Kramādityaḥ*[7]. If this surmise be correct, he might also

1. *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107 no. 2 pl., XLI, No. 14.
2. It is difficult to follow Mookerji who holds that Ghaṭotkacha is mentioned as *Kumārāmātya* in Basarh seals (*Gupta Empire*, p. 12). We know of only one seal of Ghaṭotkachagupta and that is devoid of any title.
3. Bloch, *ASIAR*, 1903-04, p. 107 ; Smith, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 153 ; Basak, *History of North-Eastern India, [HNEI]*, pp. 6-7.
4. This, however, is not a forceful argument as the seal could be stamped on a letter dispatched to even beyond one's territories.
5. *EI*, XXVI, pp, 116, 117 (text).
6. *Vide* Tumain Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I and Ghaṭotkachagupta, G. E. 116(=A. D. 435) ; *Sel. Ins.* 2nd ed., pp. 297-99, particularly p. 298, fn, 1 ; Cf, also Mookerji, *Gupta Empire*, p. 73.
7. Allan, *CCGD*, intro, p. liv, pl. XXIV, 3.

have unsuccessfully contended for the imperial crown against Skandagupta.[1]

6—Nalanda sealing of Budhagupta

A Nalanda fragmentary sealing of Budhagupta[2] gives the same genealogy of the Gupta kings from Śrīgupta to Kumāragupta I as is noticed in other official records. After Kumāragupta I, however it mentions Purugupta and Budhagupta as direct successors in order[3].

Budhagupta is known to have ruled from at least A. D. 476[4] to A. D. 495[5]. Epigraphs from Sarnath[6], Damodarpur[7], and Eran[8] indicate his rule over those regions, and, as such, the theory of the division of the Gupta empire before or during his reign[9] should be given a holiday.

1. *Vide* Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire* (*CGE*) p. 265. It is also possible that he outlived Skandagupta for a short period, assumed independence and issued coins (*ibid.*, p. 266). B. N. Srivastava, however, places Ghaṭotkacha of the gold coin after Vainyagupta (*JUPHS*, (NS), X pp. 30-31 text and fn.).
2. *MASI*, 66, p. 64.
3. The extent portion dealing with the relationship between Purugupta and Buddhagupta reads:

   l. 6 . *hārājādhirāja Śrī Puruguptasta*

   l. 7...*devyāmutopannaḥ*

   l. 8...*Śrī Budhaguptaḥ.*

   Though there is some gap between the names Purugupta and Budhagupta, yet an observation of the seal clearly shows that there is no space for the name of any other Gupta prince between the name of Purugupta and Budhagupta. Theories suggesting that he might have been the son of Kumāragupta I, as once suggested by D. C. Sircar (*Sel. Ins.*, Ist ed., p. 323, fn.) or that of Kumāragupta II (Basak, *HNEI*, p. 78) have to be rejected outright. The name of the mother of Budhagupta is not clear. A. Ghosh suggests that it was Chandradevī (*IHQ*, XIX, p. 120).
4. *Vide* Sarnath Buddhist Image Ins. of Buddhagupta, G. E. 137 (=A.D. 476) (*Sel. Ins.*, p. 331).
5. Allan, *CCGD*, p. 153, No. 617, pl. XXIV, 13.
6. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 331.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 332-34.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 334-36.
9. E. G. in *EI.*, XV, p. 120 ; Basak, *HNEI*, p. 63 ; *PIHC*, 1941, pp. 179-81 ; Altekar, *CGE*, p. 9 ; Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha* [*DKM*], pp. 6-7.

7—The Nalanda sealings of Narasiṁhagupta

Two fragmentary sealings (nos. S. I., 650 and 687[1]) of Narasiṁhagupta have been found at Nalanda. Although from different moulds, these contain similar inscriptions and device (Garuḍa figure). In the better preserved one (no. 650), the genealogy upto Kumāragupta I runs similar to that found in official Gupta records. It adds Purugupta as a son of Kumāragupta I, born of *Mahādevī* Anantadevī and then introduces Narasiṁhagupta, a son of Purugupta, born of Queen Chandradevī.[2]

8—Bhitari seal and Nalanda sealing of Kumāragupta II or III

A mixed copper and silver seal from Bhitari[3] and two clay sealings from Nalanda[4] belong to Kumāragupta (II or III). In spite of great uniformity in the device (Garuḍa in therianthropic form) and legend these two were made from different dies.[5] These contain Gupta genealogy from Śrigupta to Kumāragupta (II or III) which, after Kumāragupta I, runs as follows:

Purugupta = Chandradevī
|
Narasiṁhagupta = Mitradevī
|
Kumāragupta = (II or III)

9—Nalanda sealing of vishṇugupta

A fragmentary Nalanda sealing of Vishṇugupta[6] has the

1. See *MAS*, 66, p. 65, pl. VII, b-c.
2. Sastri read it as Vainyadevī (*ibid.*, 66, p 65) which was corrected to Chandradevī by the Editor (*ibid.*, p. 65, fn. 2). The legend from Purugupta onward runs:
   l. 6...*hādevyām-Anantadevyāmutpannaḥ mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Puruguptasyapu—*
   l. 7...*mahādevyāṁ Śrī-Chandradevyāmutpannaḥ paramabhāga—*
   l. 8...*ja, Śrī-Narasiṁhaguptaḥ.*
   See *IHQ*, XIX, p. 273.
3. *IA*, XIX (1890), pp. 224 ff.
4. *MASI*, 66, pp. 65-66, no. S. I, 849, 843 and pl. VIII, d. and e.
5. For instance, line 5 in the Bhitari seal ends in *Mahārā*-while in the Nalanda one in *Mahā*. The eighth line of the Nalanda sealings, like the Bhitari one, starts with-*vyāmutopannaḥ* and not with *paramabhāgavato* as read by Sastri in *ibid*., p. 66.
   [The letter *ra* does not occur in the end of line 5 of the Bhitari seal.—*N.A.*]
6. The legend reads as below:
   (1) *hārājādh(i)r)ājaŚr(ī)-(P)ū[ruguptas-tasya puttras-tatpādānudhyato.]*
   (2) *h(ā)r(ā)j(ā)dhirāja-Śrī-Narasiṁha(guptas)-tasya puttras-tatpād-ānudh(yā)t(o)*
   (3) *rājādhirāja Śrī-Kumāraguptas-tasya puttras-tatpādānuddhyāto Ma(hā)*........
   (4) *nnaḥ Paramabhāgavato Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Vishṇug(u)ptaḥ.*
   See *EI*, XXVI, p. 539 and pl. facing it.

following genealogy on the extant portion:

Narasiṁhagupta
|
Kumāragupta
|
Vishṇugupta

10—Nalanda sealing and Gunaighar copper plate seal of Vainyagupta

A small fragmentary clay sealing from Nalanda[1] mentions *paramabhāgavata* Vainyagupta born of a *mahādevī*. The names of his father and grandfather are missing thereon but they end in *gupta*. The resemblance in the style of the legend with the seals of the Imperial Guptas, the *gupta* ending of the names of the ruler and his two predecessors along with the epithet *paramabhāgavata*,[2] all lead us to the obvious conclusion that Vainyagupta belonged to the Imperial Gupta family. He is generally identified with *Mahārāja* Vainyagupta of the Gunaighar (Tipperah District) plate of G. E. 188(= A. D. 507).[3] The seal of the plate shows a recumbent bull and the inscription read *Mahārāja Śrī Vai(nyagup-tasya)*.[4] Vainyagupta of this sealing has also been identified with

1. *MASI*, 66, p, 67, pl. VIII.f, *IHQ*, XIX, p. 275 ; *ibid* XXIV, p. 67. Nisar Ahmad proposed to read the name of the king as *Chandragupta* instead of *Vainyagupta* (*JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 44-45). This has been refuted by J. Agrawal (*ibid.*, XXX, pp. 206-07).
2. The legend reads: .....*Guptas-tasya putras-ta...s-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Śrī*.. ...*Guptas-tasya putras-tat-pād-ānudhyāto mahādevyāṁ paramabhāgavato mahārājādhirāja Śrī Vainyaguptaḥ* (*IHQ*, XIX, p. 275).
3. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 340-45.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 341 fn. It may, however, be noted that Vainyagupta of the Nalanda seal is styled *Mahārājādhirāja* whereas that of the copper-plate (both in the seal and the plate) as *mahārāja*, (*IHQ*, VI, p. 49) and, while the former is connected as *paramabhāgavata* i. e. a Vaishṇava, the latter is styled as *Bhagavān Mahādeva-pādā-nudhyāta* i. e. a Śaiva (*IHQ*, VI, p. 53 ; *Sel. Ins.*, p. 341). The coins of Vainyagupta show Vaishṇava devices-Guruḍa on the obverse and Lakshmī on the reverse (*IHQ*, IX, p. 784). It is possible that though a Vaishṇava in his early days, he became a Śaiva subsequently. The Śaiva religion was then gaining pepularity and kings of the subsequent dynasties (to wit, Harsha and Śaśāṅka) professed it and adopted the bull as their *lāñchhana*. Either *paramabhāgavata* became a conventional epithet of the later Imperial Guptas irrespective of their religious leanings or, as Ganguli observes, "Vainyagupta, though became greatly

king Vajra, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.[1] The relationship between Vainyagupta and Bhānugupta, known from the Eran pillar Inscription of A. D. 510,[2] is not known. There are three possibilities: (1) Bhānugupta might have been a Governor of Malwa; (2) he might have been ruling independently the western provinces of the Gupta empire while Vainyagupta ruled the eastern parts of the same; (3) he succeeded Vainyagupta.[3] We are also uncertain about the parentage of Vainyagupta though Majumdar suggests that he was, perhaps, a son of Purugupta.[4]

Unfortunately, none of these seals is dated. This omission has given rise to various theories about the order of succession after Kumāragupta I.[5] We would not go into the details of this controversy here but simply enumerate various possibilities regarding the order of succession.

The genealogy of the Gupta kings from Śrīgupta to Kumāragupta I, as given on the seals, is identical with that available in several Gupta records and runs as given below:

Mahārāja Śrīgupta (or Gupta)
|
Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha
|
Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta I = Kumāradevī
|
Mahārājadhirāja Samudragupta = Dattadevī
|
Mahārājadhirāja Chandragupta II = Dhruvadevī
|
Mahārājadhirāja Kumāragupta I = Anantadevī

attached to the Śaiva faith, did not altogether foresake the creed of his family" (*IHQ*, IX, p. 788). He adds: "He was after all a tolerant monarch as we find him giving donations for the maintenance of a Buddhist *vihāra*" (*ibid*).

1. Vide Mookerji, *Gupta Empire*, pp. 105-06.
2. *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 345-46.
3. See *IHQ*, XIX, p. 276.
4. He points out that on the Nalanda seal of Vainyagupta there is a sign of *u* before the letter *gu* (of *gupta*) of the name of his father. Of the kings of the Gupta dynasty, only Purugupta and Vishṇugupta fulfil this requirement. The latter, a grand-nephew of Budhagupta who ruled at least upto A. D. 495, could not have been the father of Vainyagupta ruling in A.D. 506. Secondly, in this case the *u-kāra* sign in the conjoint letter *shṇ* would come down much below the line, which is not the case in the present record (See *IHQ*, XXIV, P. 67).
5. See e.g. Panna Lall, *Hindustan Review*, Jan. 1918, pp. 1-22; Ghosh, *IHQ*, XIX, pp. 119-25; Deva, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 237-38. The views

This may be accepted as probable, though there is the possibility that (i) Rāmagupta might have been the immediate successor and predecessor of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II respectively.[41] (ii) Govindagupta might have ruled between G. E. 93 and 96 the last and first known dates for Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I respectively,[2] and that (iii) Ghaṭotkachagupta might have ruled for a short period in Malwa.[3]

The chronology of Gupta kings after Kumāragupta I, however, is highly controversial. The records of Skandagupta mention him as the son and successor of Kumāragupta I.[4] But in the seals of later Gupta emperors from Kumāragupta I onwards, the genealogy is traced through Purugupta. Some scholars[5] suggest that Skandagupta and Purugupta should be taken as identical but the omission of the name of Skandagupta may be due to the fact that these seals mention *vaṁśāvalī* and not *rājāvalī*.[6]

We have to place all the Imperial Gupta kings who ruled after Kumāragupta I within the following chronological framework provided by the dated epigraphs and coins of the Gupta period :

Last known date of Kumāragupta I	A.D. 455[7]
Earliest known date of Skandagupta	A D. 455[8]
Last known date of Skandagupta	A D. 467[9]
Date of Kumāragupta of the Sarnath Inscription	A D. 473[10]

of different scholars have been discussed in detail by B.P. Sinha (*DKM*, pp. 1-129).

1. Recently, G. S. Gai has published three inscriptions of *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta from the Vidiśā region. The script is of the Gupta period. Coins of Rāmagupta are known. For various references bearing on Rāmagupta problem, see Gai, *JOIB*, XVIII, no. 3, pp. 247-51, at p. 249 fn.
2. See Choudhary, *PIHC*, 1960, pp. 50-55.
3. However, see *ibid*.
4. See e.g. *CII*, III, no. 13, p. 53.
5. Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1909 (i), p. 129; Deva, *EI*, XXVI, pp. 235 ff.
6. Cf. Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 9-14.
7. Known from one of the coins of this ruler dated (G.E.) 156, (Allan, *CCGD*, p. xliv).
8. *Vide* Junagarh Rock Ins. of Skandagupta (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 307 ff.).
9. Known from his silver coin, dated G. E. 138 (Sinha, *DKM*, p. 59).
10. *Vide* Sarnath Buddhist Image Ins. of Kumāragupta II, G.E. 154 (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 328-29).

First known date of Budhagupta	...	...	A.D. 476[1]
Last known date of Budhagupta	...	...	A.D. 495[2]
Vainyagupta (known date) ...	...	...	A.D. 507[3]
Bhānugupta (known date) ...	...	...	A.D. 510[4]

Purugupta[5], son of Kumāragupta I, either preceded Skandagupta[6] and ruled for a few days or months in A.D. 455 or succeeded Skandagupta[7] and ruled not earlier than A.D. 467 and not later than A.D. 473 when Kumāragupta of the Sarnath Inscription (A.D. 473) was ruling. The parentage of the latter is not known. If he and Kumāragupta of Bhitari and Nalanda seals be one and the same person, then Purugupta ruled before A. D. 473 and

1. *Vide* Sarnath Buddhist Image Ins. of Budhagupta, dated G. E. 157, *ibid.*, p. 331).
2. Known from his silver coins (Allan, *CCGD*, p. 153, no. 617, pl. XXIV, 13). [On this coin Allan reads 175 (G. E.) i. e. 175+319 =494 A.D.—*N.A.*]
3. Gunaighar Copper-Plate Ins. of Vainyagupta of G. E. 188 (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 340-45).
4. Eran Stone Pillar Ins. of the time of Bhānugupta, dated G. E. 191 (*ibid*, pp. 345-46).
5. Another form of the name, *Pūrugupta*, is also found. See Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 3-4, fn. 8.
6. See *IHQ*, IX, p. 787 fn.; Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 23-49. The main argument is the non-mention of the name of Skandagupta's mother in his records while names of the mothers of his predecessors are given. This has been taken as indicative of the fact that he was not the son of the chief queen and consequently could not have legitimate and indisputable claim to the throne; hence Purugupta succeeded Kumāragupta I (*ibid*, pp. 29-32). Further, the expression *vyapetya Sarvān manujendra-putrāṁl-Lakshmī svayaṁ yaṁ varayāṁchakāra* (i.e. the Goddess of Fortune chose him after discarding other princes) used for Skandagupta in the Junagarh Rock Inscription is taken to suggest that he could come to the throne only after a successful exchange of arms (*ibid.* p. 23). The phrase *tatpādānudhyātaḥ* which occurs in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription to describe the relationship between Kumāragupta I and his father Chandragupta II, is absent in the case of Skandagupta in relation to his father Kumāragupta I. B. P. Sinha holds that the Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription where it occurs, should be ascribed to Purugupta (or one of his successors) rather than to Skandagupta (*ibid.*, pp. 26-28).
7. E. G. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp. 572-77; Panna Lall, *Hindusthan Review*, Jan, 1918, pp. 1 ff.; see also Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 23-49 where an attempt has been made to refute it.

was followed by his son Narasiṁhagupta, and the latter again having ruled for a short period followed by his son, Kumāragupta (II) in A.D. 473. If Vishṇugupta, son of the last named king, followed immediately after him then he ruled sometime between A.D. 473 and A.D. 476 (the earliest known date of Budhagupta), and the chronology, from Purugupta onwards would then run as below.[1]

1. Purugupta

2. Narasiṁhagupta

3. Kumāragupta II

4. Vishṇugupta — 5. Budhagupta

The table shows the rule of kings running into four generations within a very short period. Vishṇugupta, the great-grandson of Purugupta (who did not rule before A.D. 455 and very probably also not upto A. D. 467) must have been a mere stripling at the time of his accession.[2] The alternative suggestion is that Kumāragupta II was succeeded by Budhagupta, and the latter, in turn by Vishṇugupta, some time in or after A.D. 495, as shown below.[3]

1. Purugupta

2. Narasiṁhagupta

3. Kumāragupta II

5. Vishṇugupta — 4. Budhagupta

But then in this case there was a break in the line of succession If Kumāragupta of the Sarnath inscription and his homonym known as the son of Narasiṁhagupta from seals were two different persons,[4] the genealogy should then run on the

1. *IHQ*, XIX, p. 120
2. *Ibid*, pp. 120-21.
3. Cf. *ibid*., p. 120.
4. He might have been a son of Skandagupta and his immediate successor and would have been succeeded by Purugupta in A. D. 473, and the later was followed by his son, Budhagupta, in A. D. 475. But if he was the son of Purugupta, he would have succeeded either Purugupta himself, if the latter ruled after Skandagupta, or even the last-mentioned one in case he had no son. Numismatic evidence, according to some scholars, suggests the

following lines[1] :

1. Purugupta
2. Kumāragupta II | 3. Budhagupta | 4. Narasiṁhagupta
5. Kumargupta III
6. Vishṇugupta

This genealogy obviates the location of too many kings between the years A.D. 467, the last known date of Skandagupta, and A. D. 476, the first known date of Budhagupta. Further, Hiuentsang mentions the conflict of Bālāditya (identified with Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya) with the Hūṇa king Mihirakula[2] and this would synchronise the two if Narasiṁhagupta came after Budhagupta.

But if Vainyagupta of the Nalanda seal and Gunaighar grant (A. D. 507) be identical and accepted as the son of Purugupta as suggested by Majumdar,[3] that ruler either succeeded his grand nephew, Vishṇugupta (a rare type of succession indeed), or else the chronology would be:

1. Purugupta
2. Kumāragupta II | 3. Budhgupta | 4. Vainyagupta | 5. Narasiṁhagupta
6. Kumāragupta III
7. Vishṇugupta

In case it has to be accepted that Bengal no more formed part of the Gupta empire after Vainyagupta as a *dūtaka* named Vijayasena, once a feudatory of that king[4], acknowledged king Gopachandra as his master[5], the possibility of three brothers succeeding one after another, would indeed be an unusual feature.

existence of at least three Kumāraguptas in the Imperial Gupta dynasty (*vide* Sinha, *DKM*, pp. 22-23, 66).

1. See *IHQ*, XIX, p. 122.
2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, pp. 288-89.
3. *IHQ*, XXIV, p. 67.
4. *Vide* Gunaighar Cop. Pl. Ins. of Vainyagupta, G. E. 188=A. D. 507 (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 340-45).
5. *Vide* Mallasarul Cop. Pl. Ins. (of Vijayasena) of the time of Gopachandra, regnal year, 33 (*ibid.*, pp. 372-77).

It would be worthwhile to refer here to the theory of Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya regarding the Gupta chronology. He refers to the Chinese evidence which gives the names of those kings who made donations to the Nālandā-vihāra in the following order: Śakrāditya Buddhagupta-rāja, Tathāgata-rāja, Bālāditya, Vajra and the king of Mid-India.[1] He identifies Tathāgata-rāja with Vainyagupta[2] and the king of Mid-India with Yaśodharman[3] who, as per evidence of his inscriptions, was on the throne in A.D. 532. The chronology would show Bālāditya and Yaśodharman as contemporaries. It would then run as below:

1. Purugupta

2. Budhagupta

3. Tathāgatarāja (=Vainyagupta)

4. Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya

5. Vajra

6. Kumāragupta II[4]

7. Vishṇugupta

Thus the evidence of seals has provided valuable information regarding the genealogy of the Imperial Gupta rulers. The question of their chronology, however, still remains open and, with the evidence at hand, no final conclusions are yet possible.

1. Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, pp. 222, 242.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 242.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 242
4. According to Dr. Chattopadhyaya, the absence of any royal title and the description *bhūmiṁ rakshati Kumāragupta* show that Kumāragupta of the Sarnath Ins. was not a king but simply a governor (*EHNI*, p. 223). He also opines that the title *rājā*, used for Bhānugupta in the Eran Pillar Inscription suggests that he too was a local governor (*ibid.*).

CHRONOLOGY OF THE RULERS KNOWN FROM THE REPOUSSE GOLD COINS OF THE GARUḌA TYPE

Nisar Ahmad

[Pl. VI]

The Garuḍa type repousse gold coins found so far bear the names of three kings, Prasannamātra,[1] Mahendrāditya[2] and Kramāditya.[3] Though the currencies of the first two rulers were known to scholars as early as 1933[4] but, only in 1948[5], their comparative observation was made by Rode when[6] he published a hoard of the coins of king Mahendrāditya. He, dividing the coins of this hoard into two groups, noted that "the coins of the first group bear the legend in the early form of the box-headed characters, while those of the second group have the legend in the later form of those characters." He also suggested that the specimens of the first group were issued by Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty who bore the epithet of Mahendrāditya in the 5th century A. D. and the issues of the second group were started to be struck after about 80 years[7] in the sixth century A.D.[8] by Tivaradeva

1. *ASI, AR*, 1926-7, p. 230 ; *IHQ*, IX, p. 595 ; *IHQ*, XV, pp. 475-6 ; *The Gupta-Vākāṭaka Age*, p. 87, fn. 3 ; *JNSI*, XII, pp. 8 ff.; *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 215 ff.
2. *NS*, XLIV, pp. 11-12 ; *NNM*, No. 5, p. 12 ; *OHRJ*, I, p. 137 ; *JNSI*, X, pp. 137 ff.; *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 216-17 ; *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 184 ff.
3. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 184 ff.
4. *IHQ*, IX, p. 595 ; *NS*, XXIX (1933), pp. 11-12 N.
5. In 1939, Mirashi, while publishing the coins of the Edenga hoard of the Nalas, referred to the coins of Mahendrāditya and Prasannamātra casually (*JNSI*, I, p. 31).
6. *JNSI*, X, pp. 137-139.
7. Rode suggested that the coins of the second group were first issued by Tivaradeva who according to him ruled from *C.* 530 to 550 A. D. *JNSI*, X, p. 138). and we know that Kumāragupta flourished between 415 to 455 A.D. (*The Classical Age*, p. 23) Hence a period of 75 years intervened between both the reigns. Altekar (*JNSI*, X, p. 142) and Mirashi (*JNSI*, XI, p. 108) wrongly took this period as of 100 and 150 years, respectively.
8. Rode mistakably at one place wrote : "The coins of the second variety appear to have been in circulation in the 5th and 6th

and the minting of these was continued by Tivaradeva's successors. He further remarked that Parasannamātra took the earlier ones as the model for his coins. Altekar[1] and Mirashi[2] do not believe in this two series theory. But the latter suggested that the coins with the legend Mahendrāditya were issued by the members of the Śūra dynasty known from the Arang copper plate inscription of Bhīmasena II dated in G. E. 182 (501 A. D.)[3] and also agreed that this type "was adopted with some variations by" Parasannamātra. This was based on the belief that Prasannamātra flourished after Kumāragupta I. Jain[4] held that Mahendrāditya of these coins was a Śarabhapurian ruler, and a successor of Narendra. However, he confirmed the above proposed order of these kings and observed: "Mahendrāditya preceded Prasannamātra is clear from the fact that while the coins of Prasannamātra have simply a symbol of dots below the legend, the coins of Mahendrāditya have an additional letter and these two interchange the place on different coins, while the place of symbols on coins of Prasannamātra is always the same, though the symbols are different." Further, "the cluster of dots on the coins of Prasannamātra is very much similar to that occurring on the coins of Mahendrāditya.[5] But he, after a few years,[6] when discovered another hoard that contained certain pieces of one Kramāditya along with the coins of Mahendrāditya and on the fact that the coins of both the kings are totally similar in style, fabric and weight identified Mahendrāditya with Kumāragupta and Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya with his son Skandagupta Kramāditya.[7] And, probably to suit the well known principle that "coins and coin types in ancient India were to a great extent regional"[8] and the Guptas introduced the local numismatic patterns in their

century A. D." (*JNSI*, X, p. 138) because he himself said that these issues were struck by Tivaradeva and his successors and he placed Tivaradeva in the sixth century A.D. (Ibid.).

1. *JNSI*, X, p. 142.
2. *JNSI*, XI, pp. 108 ff.
3. Sircar takes this date as 282 (601 A. D.), *The Classical Age*, p. 218.
4. *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 215 ff.
5. *JNSI*, p. 217.
6. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 184 ff.
7. Ibid, p. 186.
8. *The Coins of the Gupta Empire*, p. 150.

currencies issued in the conquered regions,[1] suggests that Mahendrāditya imitated the coin-type of Prasannamātra who was a contemporary of Kumāragupta I.[2] We definitely know that the period of Kumāragupta's reign extended from 415 to 455[3] A. D. but the rule of Prasannamātra must not have ended at the same time. The statement of Jain, that 'the type was borrowed from the coins of Prasannamātra',[4] makes it clear that Prasannamātra was the earliest contemporary of Kumāragupta I. Hence according to Jain Prasannamātra has to be placed in the first quarter of the 5th century A. D. But it is difficult to agree with this date of Prasannamātra.

Therefore this problem needs a fresh and critical examination and that is dealt here.

We propose to enumerate here the coins of the rulers of this series found in various hoards:

(a) *Berhampur Hoard*:[5]	1.	Vishṇugupta of the later Imperial Gupta Dynasty	1
	2.	Prasannamātra	47
(b) *Khairtal Hoard*:[6]	1.	Mahendrāditya	54
(c) *Bhandara Hoard*:[7]	1.	Prasannamātra	11
	2.	Mahendrāditya	1
(d) *Pitaiband Hoard*.[8]	1.	Mahendrāditya	46
	2.	Kramāditya	3

The occurrence of the coins of Prasannamātra, in a hoard, along with a coins of Vishṇugupta of the later Imperial Gupta

1. Jain writes: "We further know that he had issued silver-plated coins both in the home province as well as in Western India. It does not, therefore, seem to be impossible that these thin coins of base gold also were issued by him for circulation in South Kosala and Orissa," *JNSI*, XXII, p. 186.
2. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 186.
3. *The Classical Age*, p. 23.
4. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 186.
5. *ASI*, *AR*, 1926-27, p. 230.
6. *JNSI*, X, pp. 137 ff.
7. *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 215 ff.
8. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 184 ff.

dynasty, who ruled from 530 to 550 A. D.[1], suggests that Vishṇugupta and Prasannamātra would have existed contemporaneously.

Here we also see that the coins of Prasannamātra occur in a hoard with a coin of Mahendrāditya and similarly the latter's coins are found associated with a few coins of Kramāditya. Thus we find two orders of successions of these kings: *first*, Prasannamātra, Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya, and *second*, Kramāditya, Mahendrāditya and Prasannamātra.

The conclusions can also be based on the following symbological peculiarities:

(a) Two symbols, *Ghaṭa*[2] and a cluster of six dots[3] are found on the coins of Prasannamātra. They also occur on the issues of Mahendrāditya[4], but the cluster is made of seven dots.

(b) On the coins of Prasannamātra, the *Śaṅkha* opens to left[5] while on those of Kramāditya the *Śaṅkha* opens to right[6] but on the issues of Mahendrāditya it has its opening to both sides, i.e. right and left.[7]

(c) Additional letters occur on the coins of Mehendrāditya and Kramāditya[8] but not on those of Prasannamātra

(d) Mahendraditya's coins contain an additional symbol made of a single dot.[9]

(e) Some coins of both Mahendrāditya[10] and Kramāditya[11] have three dots between the legs of the Garuḍa and those of the former sometimes show only one dot in that position.[12]

1. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 120 ff. Allan suggests that the reign of Vishṇugupta ended in 500 A. D., *BMC, GD*, p. 145. Majumdar feels that his rule terminated in 570 A. D., *The Classical Age*, p. 43.
2. *JNSI*, XII, pl. I, nos. 4-6 ; XVI, pl. IV, nos. 2-3, 6-8, 10-12.
3. *JNSI*, XVI, pl. IV, nos. 4-5, 9.
4. *JNSI*, XXII, pl. IX, nos. 10, 12, 13.
5. *JNSI*, XII(I), Pl. I, nos. 4-6 ; XVI(II), pl. IV, nos. 2-12.
6. *JNSI*, XXII, pl. IX, nos. 7-9.
7. *JNSI*, XXXI, pp. 160 ff.
8. *NS*, LXIV ; *JNSI*, X, pl. IX, nos. 1-9 ; XVI, pl, IV. no. 1; XXII, pl. IX, nos, 7 ff.
9. *JNSI*, XXII, pl. IX, no. 11.
10. Ibid, pl. IX, nos. 15-17.
11. Ibid, nos. 7-9.
12. *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 38.

(f) The place of the symbol on the coins of Prasannamātra is invariably the same while on those of Mahendrāditya the symbol and letter interchange.[1]

(g) No symol is depicted on any coin of Kramāditya[2] and some coins of Mahendrāditya.[3]

Mahendrāditya intervened between Prasannamātra and Kramāditya is quite clear for the reason that the cluster of dots and the *Kalaśa* symbols on the issues of Prasannamātra are very much similar to those depicted on the coins of Mahendrāditya. The latter also introduced a new symbol made of a single dot. The coins of Prasannamātra have only a symbol below the legend but those of Mahendrāditya, along with the symbol, also continued an additional letter and the issues of Kramāditya simply have the additional letter. The coins of Mahendrāditya have *Śaṅkha* opening to right or left whereas those of Prasannamātra and Kramāditya have *Śaṅkha* opening to left and right, respectively. All coins of Kramaditya and some coins of Mahendrāditya contain three dots between the *Garuḍa.*

Thus we have arrived at two fixed points (1) that Prasannamātra was the contemporary of Vishṇugupta of the later Imperial Gupta dynasty who ruled from 530 to 550 A. D. and (2) that Mahendrāditya intervened between Prasannamātra and Kramāditya. Now the question remains that among the latters, whether Prasannamātra or Kramāditya preceded Mahendrāditya. In case the former possibility is accepted, we have to place Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya in the later half of the sixth century A. D. and if the latter alternative is held, we have to keep Kramāditya and Mahendrāditya in the end of the 5th century and the first half of the 6th century A.D. Some may favour this second possibility. Let us examine it in some detail.

To slove this problem we can take into consideration the *Garuḍa* device represented in the upper half of these coins.

(a) On the coins of Prasannamātra the *Garuḍa* is depicted with rounded body and short legs **(Pl. VI. 7)** and we meet with similar

1. *JNSI*, X, pl. IX, B, nos. 1-9; XVI(II), pl. IV, no. 1; XXII, pl. IX, nos. 10-13.
2. *JNSI*, XXII, pl. IX, nos. 7-9.
3. Ibid, nos. 15-18.

form of this bird on the genealogical seals of the later Imperial Guptas[1]. On the Gupta-coins, too, this type of *Garuḍa* occurs.[2]

(b) We get the above representation of this device only one coin of Mahendrāditya **(Pl. VI. 8)** and on his rest coins the *Garuḍa* simply has head and the unproportionate legs and not its body **(Pl. VI. 9)**.

(c) The culmination in the portrayal of this device can well be marked on the coins of Kramāditya. **(Pl. VI. 10)**

Thus the similarity in the representation of the *Garuḍa* device on the coins and genealogical seals of the Guptas, the coins of Prasannamātra and a coin of Mahendrāditya, the development of its conventionalized form on the coins of Mahendrāditya and the highly degeneration in its shape on the coins of Kramāditya make it sure that Prasannamātra ruled first and Kramāditya last.

Besides these, it may be noted that none of the coins of the *Garuḍa* type repousse gold coins occurs with the coins of Vishṇu-gupta's predecessors.

Hence we can certainly conclude that Prasannamātra ruled first among the kings of this series and flourished about the middle of the 6th century A.D. Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya succeeded him respectively in the second half of this century.

1. *MARI*, no. 66, pl. VIII.
2. *The Coins of the Gupta Empire*, pls. XIV, nos. 3, 12-13, XV. nos. 2, 11, 12 ; XVI, 10- nos. 11, 15.

THE PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE 'VISHṆUKUṆḌIN' COINS

B. D. CHATTOPADHYAYA

In recent years, the problem of broadly two series of coins sought to be attributed to the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty of Āndhra has been discussed by a number of writers in the forms of papers, short reports, and catalogues. Naturally enough, scholarly opinions are not unanimous on this question, but unfortunately many of the recent studies, in so far as they deal with the attribution—problem of the coins, suffer from the application of varied and inconsistent standards of judgement and quite often fail to take into consideration comparable data which a study of south Indian numismatics presents. The present paper aims to review the entire problem in the light of the material available at present and in particular to examine afresh the methodologies brought to bear upon it.

The coins in question are quite common generally in the eastern part of the peninsula and have been published over a number of years, but initially as Pallava coins. The idea that a major group of them, bearing a 'lion' on the obverse and a 'vase flanked by two lampstands, all within a rayed circle' on the reverse,[1] have to be attributed to the Vishṇukuṇḍins is not new,

1. These coins seem to have been first published by M. Elliot; cf. his 'Numismatic Gleanings', *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1857-58, p. 238, Plate IX, 52; *Coins of Southern India*, (The International Numismata Orientalia, Vol. III, pt. II), London, 1885-86, Plate II, Nos. 49-50.

The attribution suggested by Elliot was followed by such writers as E. J. Rapson (*Indian Coins*, Strassburg, 1897, Plate V. 16 and Key to Plate V); T. Desikachari (*South Indian Coins*, Trichinopoly, 1933, pp. 135-136, No. 3; p. 139, No. 18) and M. H. Krishna (*Mysore Archæological Department, Annual Report*, 1940, p. 76, No. 6). In recent times C. Krishna has argued in favour of this attribution, cf. 'Discovery of a Pallava coin (?) at Nagar, District Bhandara, Maharashtra', *JNSI*, XXVI, pt. II, pp. 240-243.

Two early writers who published this type of coin but expressed doubt about the justification of attributing it to the Pallavas are V. A. Smith (*The Oxford History of India, from the earliest times to the end of 1911*, Oxford, 1919, p. 207) and C. J. Brown (*The Coins of India*, Calcutta-London, 1922, Plate VII, No. 8 and Key to Plate VIII).

although it has gained wide currency in recent years. It seems that this attribution was first suggested by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil.[1] This attribution was endorsed by K. R. Subramanian[2] and B. V. Krishna Rao[3] who referred to this problem in the respective writings on the early history of Āndhra. So, most of the modern writers on the subject do not suggest anything that is entirely new but they certainly deserve due credit for bringing the subject into limelight and publishing new material for study.

The basic argument for the attribution of the Vishṇukuṇḍin coins has also remained unchanged. Jouveau-Dubreuil pointed out[4] the similarity between the 'Lion' motif on the Vishṇukuṇḍin copper plate seals and that on the series of coins under review. He also tried to establish the asscciation of the 'vase' motif with the Vishṇukuṇḍins. This method has been in recent times followed particularly by M. Rama Rao,[5] A. Mitra Shastri[6] and S. Ramayya.[7]

It seems that this method is valid up to a point but it is difficult to say how far it can be stretched. First, it may be pointed out that the total number of devices employed by a dynasty does not necessarily correspond to the dynastic crest. The chief flaw in the method is illustrated by the coinage of the successors

1. Cf. *The Pallavas*, Pondicherry, 1917, p. 34; *Ancient History of the Deccan*, Pondicherry, 192, p. 920.
2. *Buddhist Remains in Āndhra and The History of Āndhra between 225 & 610 A.D.*, 1932, p. 118.
3. *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa C. 200-625 A.D.*, Madras, 1942, pp. 556-558. However, Krishna Rao's attribution of certain gold coins to Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman is obviously wrong. For a more plausible date of these types which are represented in the British Museum Collection and which bear legends of a much later date, cf. M. H. Krishna, *Dakhan Numismatics* (a thesis submitted to the university of London in 1926 and preserved in the university of London Library), pp. 144-145.
4. *Op. cit.*
5. *Vishnukundin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Andhra Pradesh Government Archæological Series, No. 10), Hyderabad, 1963, pp. 34-35; 'Vishnukundin Coins', *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. I, p. 40; Presidential Address at the 55th Annual conference of the Numismatic Society of India, *JNSI*, XXIX, pt. I, p. 88.
6. 'Two new varieties of Vishṇukuṇḍin Coins from Vidarbha', *ibid*, XXVIII, pt. II, p. 166.
7. 'The Puzzle of the Pallava coinage and some new Pallava coins,' *ibid*, XXIX, pt. I, pp. 22-32.

of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, i. e., the Eastern Chālukyas.[1] In the initial stage of their currency the Eastern Chālukyas did not adopt the *varāha,* their dynastic emblem,[2] but followed the 'Lion' type coins of the Vishṇukuṇḍins with necessary alterations. The impression that, at least in cases where the dynasty had a long duration, the coin devices could not be limited to the dynastic emblem only is well borne out, to mention a few examples, by the coinage of the Sātavāhanas,[3] the Guptas,[4] the Choḷas[5] and of Vijayanagar.[6] The Choḷa 'Tiger' appears on the early types of the Choḷa coins, but soon gives place to a device which does not correspond to the dynastic emblem of the Choḷas at all. The varieties of devices on the Vijayanagar coins may be another pointer to the risk involved in trying to find out dynastic affiliation of a coin or of a group of coins in terms of the dynastic emblem alone. Secondly, it is perhaps too exclusive an idea to accept that the 'Lion' device was limited, among contemporary dynasties, to the Vishṇukuṇḍins alone. This emblem, it has been pointed out by a number of writers, appears on Pallava seals,[7] although, possibly not as an equally

1. Cf. M. Rama Rao, *Eastern Cālukyan Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Andhra Pradesh Government Archæological Series, No. 11), Hyderabad, 1963 (?), pp. 6-14, Plates I-VI.
2. The available inscriptions of Vishṇuvardhana I do not seem to refer to the dynastic crest. For reference to the *varāhalāñchhana* in the record of Jayasiṁha I, cf. *Indian Antiquary,* XIII, p. 138. The numerous contemporary records of the Western Chālukyas, the inscriptions of the later Eastern Chālukyas and their seals leave no doubt that *varāha* was the major dynastic crest of the Chālukyas.
3. Cf. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the Bodhi Dynasty* (A catalogue of the Indian coins in the British Museum), British 1967 reprint; M. Rama Rao, *List of Published Sātavāhana Coins* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 6), Varanasi, 1958.
4. Cf. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa* (A catalogue of the Indian coins in the British-Museum), British Museum, 1967 reprint.
5. Cf. C. H. Biddulph, *Coins of the Cholas* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 13), Varanasi, 1968; *Mysore Archæological Department, Annual Report,* 1934, pp. 58 ff.
6. Cf. *Archæological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report, 1930,* pp. 68-78; *ibid.*, 1931, pp. 69-79; *ibid.*, 1932, pp. 76-99, etc.
7. Cf. *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1906-7,* p. 232, fn. 6; *Indian Antiquary,* V, p. 50; *Epigraphia Indica* XXI, plate facing p. 179; *ibid.*, XXIV, plates, facing p. 297, No. c.

important emblem as the Pallava 'Bull'; the acceptance of the 'Lion' emblem in the varied imagery of the Pallava world is also indicated otherwise, in the names of the Pallava rulers, Siṁhavarman,[1] Siṁhavishṇu, Narasiṁhavarman,[2] etc.

These arguments are made not with the intention of suggesting the possibility of the attribution of the entire series of 'Lion' type coins to the Pallavas, although one or two different varities of 'Lion' type coins have, perhaps with some justification, been attributed to the Pallavas.[3] It is merely an attempt to point out how the significance of the dynastic emblem, which surely is one of the major guides for determining the attribution of coins, has been overdrawn by some writers. This method has, finally, led to the anomalous position held by some writers with regard to the series of coins which have a different, i. e., 'Bull' device, but are otherwise of identical fabric. This type also has been familiar to the numismatists for a long time,[4] but comparatively large quantities of them have recently been published by R. Subrahmanyam[5] and Md. A. Waheed Khan.[6] The attribution of the 'Bull' type coins published by Waheed Khan to the Vishṇukuṇḍins has been accepted by Rama Rao.[7] but he seems to attach no importance to the case put forward by Subrahmanyam, on the grounds that 'the reverse symbols of spear and two crooked swords has (*sic*)

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, p. 159 ff; *ibid.*, XXXII, pp. 87-90.
2. R.C. Majumdar (editor), *The Classical Age* (The History and Culture of the Indian people, Vol. III), Bombay, 1954, pp. 282-283.
3. E. J. Rapson, 'Notes on Indian Coins and Seals, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1903, pp. 311-312; Plate, No. 19; D. P. E. Hettiaratchi, 'A note on an unpublished Pallava coin', *The Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S. IV (1955-56), pp. 72-77; Plates 1-2; etc.
4. Cf. *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1857-58, Plate X, Nos. 76-77, 79; Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Plate I, No. 31; *T. Desikachari, op. cit.*, pp. 137-138, No. 10; p. 139, Nos. 15, 20; *Mysore Archaeological Department, Annual Report, 1940*, pp. 75-76, Nos. 1-5.
5. *The Tundi Copper Plate Grant of Vishnukundin king Vikramendravarma*, (Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, No. 8), Hyderabad, 1962, pp. 45-48, Plate V.
6. *A Monograph on Yēlēśwaram Excavations* (Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, No. 14), Hyderabad, 1963, pp. 55-57, Plate XXXVI.
7. *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. I, pp. 39-40.

not been known so far'[1] and that the legends read by Subrahmanyam are not clear on the plates. Unfortunately, the second objection could be applied equally to the coins published by Waheed Khan. Rama Rao himself reconstructs the name *Vikramendra* on the basis of the letters *ka* and *ra* appearing on some coins[2] for which no plates are available at all. He also unfortunately fails to refer to the facts that the fabric of the coins published by Subrahmanyam is similar to those which he himself is inclined to attribute to the Vishṇukuṇḍins and that like the others they, too, come from the area covered by the Vishṇukuṇḍin rule. As for the new devices on the reverse, the coins published by A. Mitra Shastri[3] also present a new device and suggest that like the 'Lion' type coins, the 'Bull' type coins too, could have typological variations. The appearance of a new device on the coins of Subrahmanyam does not thus pose a serious objection to the attribution proposed by him unless a more positive argument is launched against it.

The most convenient guide used by numismatists for the attribution of coins is, as is well known, coin-legends. Unfortunately, the complete absence of legend or its appearance in an unsatisfactory form constitutes a serious difficulty in the tasks of a numismatist working on south India. The series of coins under review do not form an exception to this. Recently, a number of writers have stated that some letters, most possibly representing the name of the issuer, do occur on some specimens. The tetters have been read as *ka* and *ra* on the coins published by Rama Rao,[4] as *kra* and *ma* on those published by Subrahmanyam,[5] and as *ka* and *vikrama* on those published by Waheed Khan.[6] All

1. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
3. *Ibid.*, pt. II, pp. 164-165, Plate IV, 6-8.
4. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, p. 38, No. 4.
5. *Tundi copper plate*, p. 47, No. 1.
6. *A Monograph on Yelēśwaram Excavations*, p. 56. There are, however, some other suggested readings. Subrahmanyam, for example, suggests (*Tundi Copper Plate*, p. 46) the reading *ma* on certain Gurzala coins and its restoration on *Mādhavavarma*, Ramayya has read *Siri Raja* on a 'Bull' type coin (*JNSI*, XXIX, pt. I, pp. 29, 31, plate I, 3) and 'a *ka*, *va* and *ma*' on a similar type (*ibid.*, pp. 31-31). He also reads *vikrama* on a 'Lion' type coin ('Inscribed Vishnukundin coins', *JNSI*, XXIX, pt, II, pp. 81-82); cf. the remarks of P.L. Gupta, *ibid.*, p. 82, fn. 2.

these writers take these letters or legends to reprerent the name of Vikramendravarman, a ruler of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family. These legends thus appear to be very crucial for the attribution of the whole series, as the uninscribed specimens are related to the inscribed ones by device, fabric and provenance. It is very necessary, therefore, that the coins reported to bear legends are published more satisfactorily. In the interpretation of the sugges-ted reading of the lagends, we confront opinions which, again, unfortunately represent an anomalous standpoint. The available published material indicates that the legends which seem to give one name, although it may represent different rulers, occur on both 'Lion' type and 'Bull' type coins. S. Ramayya who is inclined to attribute the 'Bull' type coins to the Pallavas[1] and who tries to explain away the legend *vikrama* by suggesting that it may have been a title of a Pallava ruler[2] fails to take notice of this fact. Here also, unless some more positive and more satisfactory argu-ments are put forward, it is impossible to say, from what is available for study, that the 'Bull' type and the 'Lion' type coins were the issues of two totally different dynasties. Ramyya's interpretation of the legend also lacks support in contemporary material of south India. No coins issued by the Sātavāhanas, the Īkshvākus[3] or the Śālaṅkāyanas,[4] or by the western dynasties such as the Traikūṭakas[5] or the early Kalachuris[6] are known to bear a legend which corres-ponds only to the *biruda* of a ruler ; they all give the name of the issuer of the coin in either its complete or abbreviated form. In fact, it is doubtful whether the adoption of *birudas* in this period was as regular and widespread as it was in the early mediaeval period and in any case no parallel of the practice of using the *biruda* as the coin-legend seems to be found in the south prior to the early mediaeval period.

1. *JNSI*, XXIX, p. I, pp. 25 ff.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
3. Cf. R. Subrahmanyam, *A Catalogue of the Ikshvaku Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series, No. 5), Hyderabad, 1962.
4. Cf. B. C. Law (editor), *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 213-217; *JNSI*, XXIX, pt. I, pp. 42, 43.
5. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., pp. 198-203.
6. *JNSI*, III, pp. 21-24.

The discussions already made may be taken to indicate that in a controversial issue such as this all the tools available should be brought to bear upon it and the question whether or not any special significance ought to be attached to any particular method should rest on the nature of the problem under study. In the present case, it seems that more thought has been given to the coin emblems and to whether or not they correspond to the dynastic crest of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, than to the significance of the distribution-area of these coins. This should by no means be taken to suggest that so far no notice has been taken of the distribution-area of these coins, but generally when the evidence given by their provenance comes into alleged disagreement with that provided by the major coin device, the latter is considered to be of more value for resolving the problem of attribution. Here, again, a word of caution is necessary before we proceed further. It is not our intention to suggest that the findspots of a particular group of coins correspond to its minting or even circulation area Even the common belief that copper coins do not circulate out of the area of its origin needs at least partial modification ; the circulation area of coins, whether they are gold, silver or copper, is an issue related to the total pattern of economy of which currency represents a part, and secondly, economic or more specifically, currency areas in early India did not necessarily correspond to political boundaries which were comparatively transitory, anyway. The circulation-pattern of copper coins in south India is perhaps to some extent reflected, first, in the finds of Roman copper coins in south India and Ceylon[1] and second, in the reference to the *Śoḷiya-Kāśus*, which from the context definitely appear to be copper coins, in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom.[2] The provenances of the present coins, including both the 'Lion' and the 'Bull' types, (some of the 'Lion' type coins, again, being reported to be of base silver),[3] however,

1. Cf. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1904, p. 609 ff; Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 35; H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Ser. A. No. 3), Colombo, 1924, pp. 31, 37 ff ; etc.
2. Cf. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1936, B182; *ibid.*, 1914, p. 50, B 439.
3. C. J. Brown, *op. cit; Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report, 1940*, pp. 75-76; Desikachari, *op. cit.*, p. 139, Nos. 18-19; *JNSI*, XXIX, pt. II, p. 82.

represent a pattern. The 'Lion' type coins are found in the Masulipatam district[1]; Tangutur, Bhongir taluk, Nalgonda district[2]; Telkunta, Sultanabad taluk, Karimnagar district[3]; Dharnikota, Sattenapalli taluk, Guntur district[4]; Nagar, Bhandara district, (Maharashtra)[5]; Pavanar, Wardha district (Maharashtra)[6]; Sankaram, Vizagapatam district[7]; and Yeleswaram, Devarkonda taluk, Nalgonda district[8].

The 'Bull' type coins have been reported from : Gurzala, Palnad taluk, Guntur district[9]; Kondapur, Medak district[10]; Yeleswaram, Devarkonda taluka, Nalagonda district[11]; Prakash, Dhulia district (Maharashtra)[12] etc.[13]

1. *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1857-58, p. 238. Cf. the remark of B.V. Krishna Rao (*op. cit.*, p. 556 ff) that these coins were collected by Elliot when he was a Commissioner of the Northern Circars.
2. Rama Rao, *Vishnukundin Coins*, etc., p. 33.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, cf. also, *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. I, p. 38.
5. *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 241.
6. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, pt. II, p. 164.
7. *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1907-8, pp. 174 ff, fn. 2, Plate LIX, 2. These coins were also noticed in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Department, Southern Circle, for the year 1908-9* (Madras, 1909), pp. 6-7. This type, along with the early Eastern Chālukya coins, seems also to be represented in the Bojjanakonda-Yettikonda finds in the Vizagapatam district, cf. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1909, p. 5.
8. *A Monograph on Yêlêśwaram Excavations*, p. 55 ff.
9. *Tudi Copper Plate*, p. 45.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *A Monograph on Yêlêśwaram Excavations*, pp. 55 ff.
12. *Ancient India* (Bulltin of the Archæological Survey of India), Nos. XX-XXI, p. 130, Plate XXVII, C. No. 2. According to D. C. Sircar who has described the coins found at Prakash, the obverse emblem is that of a 'Lion'. The plate referred to above, however, perhaps shows it to be a 'Bull'.
13. There are reference to the finds of the Vishṇukuṇḍin coins at Adhurrain the East Godavari district (*Tundi Copper Plate*, p. 45; *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. I, p. 38) but it is not specified whether the 'Lion' type coins were found. 'Bull' type coins of the fabric similar to that of the coins discussed here have been reported by Elliot to have been found in the region between 'Mahamallaipur and Madras' and 'to the south of Madras' (*The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1857-58, pp. 242-243, Plate X, Nos. 76-77). Of these, Nos. 76-77 are said to belong to the 'so-called Vengi series'. No. 79 bears a legend which has three letters *va*, *ka*, and *Ma* (can it be restored as *Vikrama* ?) Desikachari reports a 'Lion' type coin from Kilakarai and a 'Bull' type coin from the 'South' (*op. cit.*, pp. 135-136, No. 3; pp. 137-138, No. 10). Ramayya obtained both his 'Lion' type and 'Bull' type coins from Hyderabad, but he is not sure about their findspots (*JNSI*, XXIX, pt. I, p. 30; *ibid* : pt. II, p. 81).

If provenances of coins are taken to be one determining factor for their attribution, these provenances do indicate that among the pre-Eastern Chālukyan dynasties, the Vishṇukuṇḍins have the most reasonable claim to this attribution. The major area covered by these coins satisfactorily corresponds to the territories of the Vishṇukuṇḍins.

But more satisfactory than this evidence is the possibility that the mint-area of at least the 'Lion' type coins can be determined with a fair amount of certainty. There cannot be any doubt that the early Eastern Chālukya coins with the legend *Vishamasiddhi* were derived from this type[1] ; these early Eastern Chālukya coins have been found in areas where the different series of 'Lion' type and 'Bull' type coins under review were found[2] ; more significantly, the early Eastern Chālukya coins appear to have been issued from Veṅgī and this contention may apply with equal strength to their prototypes which, therefore, have to be attributed to the Vishṇukuṇḍins.

Veṅgī could also have been considered with equal justification as the mint-area of the 'Bull' type coins if the coin referred to by Suhrahmanyam as similar in type to the Gurzala coins but with

1. P. L. Gupta, in his review of Rama Rao's monograph on the Vishṇukuṇḍin coins, seems to doubt the rationality of the attribution of the 'Lion' type coins to the Vishṇukuṇḍins and point out that 'one should look first to a hoard where the coins of the two types are found together and the hoard bears indications of the relative place of the two types in chronology' (*JNSI*, XXIX, pt. I, p. 67). Whereas such positive chronological evidence is hard to come by, and a hoard representing even two series of coins cannot by itself be expected to indicate 'the relative place of the two types in chronology', the excavations at Sankaram in the Vizagapatam District reveal the close association between the present and the early Eastern Chālukya series; cf. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Progress Report, 1907-8*, pp. 174ff; and the remark of Venkayya in *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeolagical Survey Department, Southern Circle, for the year 1908-9*, p. 7. For similar association between the two series in the Bojjanakonda-Yettikonda finds in the same district, cf. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1909, p. 5.

2. Cf. the references cited in note 51; also, Rama Rao, *Eastern Cālukyan Coins*, etc. p. 1; *Indian Antiquary*, XXV, pp. 322-323.

the legend *Vishamasiddhi*[1] were published more satisfactorily with necessary details. How can, then, the mint-area of this type be determined ? Ramayya is inclined to attribute the 'Bull' type coins to the Pallava kings of Prakrit and Sanskrit charters.[2] The chief reasons for this suggestion seem to be : (1) The Gurzala coins and those from the Yeleswaram hoard belong to the 4th century and the 4th-5th centuries, respectively and as the Vishṇu-kuṇḍins came to power only in the 5th century, they have to be attributed to the Pallavas, (ii) "the Vishṇukuṇḍins would not have adopted the Bull symbols of their rivals".[3] Ramayya's hypothesis that these coins "might have been in circulation for sometime and the Vishṇukuṇḍins might have allowed them as legal tender and later improved on this model on their lion coins"[4] sounds very plausible, but one is at the same time forced to take the following into consideration :

First, Ramayya's dating of the coins is quite arbitrary. He rejects the statement of Subrahmanyam that the legible letters on the Gurzala coins are written in characters of the 5th-6th century without any sound reasoning. His own statement that a Gurzala-type coin in his collection bears letters "of probably 4th century A. D."[5] does not help the situation. The same uncerainty hangs over the Yeleswaram coins. In any case, if one has to go by the material so far published, one is perhaps justified to question the attribution based on the uncertain dating of the letters appearing on the coins.

Second, the more significant point in the suggested attribution is the 'Bull' device ; the question to be answered in this connection, therefore, is whether the 'Bull' of these coins must be associated with Pallavas, or whether the coins with the 'Bull' could have been issued by the Vishṇukuṇḍins. Apart from the as yet uncertain

1. *Tundi Copper Plate*, p. 47. Subrahmanyam's suggestion (*ibid*, p. 46) that the 'Lion' on the coin published by Smith (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Oxford, 1906, p. 312. In the *Tundi Copper Plate*, the page number is wrongly printed as 322) 'may have to be taken as a bull' is unwarranted. Similar coins in the British Museum Collection show that it was definitely a "Conventionalised lion'.
2. *JNSI*, XXIX, pt. I, p. 28-29-
3. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
4. *Ibid.*,
5. *Ibid.*

evidence of the appearance of a Vishṇukuṇḍin name on a number of both 'Lion' type[1] and 'Bull' type coins, it should be of some significance that despite the difference in terms of the major emblems, the 'Lion' type and the 'Bull' type coins are of similar fabric ; the rayed circle' which is common to both the types closely relate them to each other. It has been argued, of course, that the 'Bull' type coins were accepted as legal tender by the Vishṇukuṇḍins, were improved and the 'Bull' was replaced by the 'Lion'. The fabrics of the two types (and one may reterate here the significance of the 'rayed circle'), however, suggest that they were issued from the same mint. As pointed out before, the evidence of the early Eastern Chālukya coins indicates that the 'Lion' type coins were issued from Veṅgī ; the same may be considered to be the mint-area for the 'Bull' type coins. This suggestion ought to receive additional support from the facts that the major distribution-area of the 'Bull' type coins is to some extent identical with that of the 'Lion' type coins and falls roughly within the Vishṇukuṇḍin territories, and that in the Yeleswarm hoard, a 'Lion' type coin was actually found in association with 48 'Bull' type coins. If Subrahmanyam's statement that a 'Bull' type coin studied by Lion bears the legend *Vishamasiddhi* proves correct, it would, as remarked already, make the association of this type with the mint at Veṅgī fairly certain.

The appearance of the 'Bull' on the Vishṇukuṇḍin coins may be explained in the same way as the 'Elephant/Ujjain' on the Ikshvāku and 'Lion' on the early Eastern Chālukya coins. They indicate that in a number of cases, coinage of a new dynasty was suggested by the coin types minted and circulating in the area it had come to rule over.[2] Elsewhere, the silver coinage of Śrīyajña

1. Ramayya himself reads the legend *vikrama* on a 'Lion' type coin which he attributes to the Vishṇukuṇḍins (*JNSI*, XXIX, pt. II, p. 82) but refers the legend *vikrama* on the 'Bull' type coins published by Waheed Khan to the Pallavas (*ibid.*, pt. II, p. 29). There is no inherent impossibility that the same legend could appear on the coins of two different dynasties, but this fact certainly weakens Ramayya's assumption that *vikrama* on the 'Bull' type coins represents a Pallava *biruda*.

2. In his presidential address at the Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India, M. Rama Rao suggested (*JNSI*, XXIX, pt. I, p. 84) that the early Eastern Chālukya copper coins "were struck by Vishnuvardhana I and II as tokens of their annexation

Sātakarṇi was suggested by that of the western Kshatrapas[1] with whom the Sātavāhanas were in almost perpetual enmity ; the same may be said about the early silver coinage of the Guptas,[2] although, in both cases, the western Kshatrapa model was accepted with necessary modifications. The Vishṇukuṇḍins had superseded the line of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers who were also ruling from Vijaya-Veṅgīpura.[3] The coins attributable to the Śālaṇkāyana ruler Chaṇḍavarman (*c.* 395-420 A. D.)[4] have a 'Bull' on the obverse.[5] If these coins were minted at Veṅgī, as one would expect they were, it is perhaps natural that they would influence early Vishṇukuṇḍin coins which, again, were presumably issued from Veṅgi. Necessary modifications were introduced in the earlystage of this currency, in the same way as the Sātavāhanas and the Guptas introduced modifications on their silver coinage. What principles were involved in the change of the reverse device are impossible to suggest, as the two series closely proximate in time and space, i. e., those of the Ikshvākus and Eastern Chālukyas, hardly reveal radical changes.

As the practice or rather the currency requirements illustrated in the coinages of the Sātavāhanas, the Guptas, the Ikshvākus and the early Eastern Chālukyas can not be shown to have many more parallels, the suggestion made above about the derivation of the early Vishṇukuṇḍin coin type from some Śālaṅkāyana model is only tentative, perhaps as tentative as the attribution of the entire series of 'Bull' type coins to the Pallavas. It does, however, explain the

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of Vishnukundin dominions." It is difficult to understand why the term 'token' has been employed here; if it is used to suggest that these were issued to symbolise the annexation of the Vishṇukuṇḍin provinces by the Eastern Chālukyas, the assertion would certainly be wrong. The large quantity of the coins available and Rama Rao's own suggestion that they spread over the periods of Vishnuvardhan I and II would themselves militate against such a view. These copper coins simply suggest, as do the silver coins of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi, of the Guptas, the Traikūṭakas, and the Early Kalachuris, or the copper coins of the Ikshvākus, that they were issued in conformity with the currency tradition to which the people of the area had got used.

1. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., LXXXIX, p. 45, Pl. VIII, 178.
2. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51, Plate X, 14-21.
3. D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 64.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
5. *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 213-213, Plate I, 1-3; *JNSI*, XXIX, pt. I, pp. 42-43, Plate II, 1-2.

similarity of fabric between the 'Bull' type and the 'Lion' type coins, and the incidence of the 'Bull' type coins in the same areas as the 'Lion' type ones. If it is accepted as a workable hypothesis until fresh material is published, it may also serve as a basis for determining the relative chronologies of the 'Bull' type and the 'Lion' type coins. It follows that the 'Bull' type coins were issued earlier than the 'Lion' type coins and the beginning of the former series may be fixed sometime before the middle of the 5th century A.D. when the Vishṇukuṇḍins first rose to power. This early dating seems to be supported by the Yeleswaram hoard which has been found in Period IV, very roughly referred to the 4th-5th centuries A. D.[1] The Yeleswaram find also contains only one 'Lion' type coin[2] which besides strengthening the hypothesis that the 'Bull' type coins are earlier, indicates that the origin of the 'Lion' type coin can be put towards the end of the suggested broad period.

The problem of the Vishṇukuṇḍin genealogy is still extremely controversial, but if the reading *vikrama* on some 'Bull' type coins is correct, it can with fair certainty be related to the name of Vikramendravarman I who, in the opinion of some writers, ruled between 460 and 480 A. D.[3] It is, however, more difficult to suggest the date of those 'Lion' type coins on which the letters representing the name of Vikramendra are reported to occur. Though the evidence of the Yeleswaram coin may indicate that the 'Lion' type had come into circulation by the end of the 5th century, it is possible that this legend may have to be related to a later Vikramendravarman.

It cannot, of course, be definitely said whether the minting of the 'Bull' type coins was altogether stopped when the 'Lion' type came into circulation. Subrahmanyam' reference to the 'Bull' type coin with the legend *Vishamasiddhi* suggests two possibilities. This late type could have been copied from similar coins which were minted to the last days of the Vishṇukuṇḍin rule ; or it could have been based on coins which were no longer minted but were still in circulation. The second alternative is equally plausible as the first one ; it is well-known that the *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpakas* minted around 550-575 A. D.[4] were still in circulation in 709-10 A. D.[5]

1. *A Monograph on Yēlēśwaram Excavations*, p. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 55 ff.
3. R.C. Majumdar (Editor), *The Classical Age*, p. 223.
4. *JNSI*, III, pp. 21-24.
5. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXV, pp. 228, 232, lines.

A NEW VARIETY OF VISHṆUKUṆḌIN COINS FROM VIDARBHA

P. R. K. Prasad

[Pl. IV]

I am highly thankful to my friend Shri N. B. Pandhare, retired Agricultural Development Officer, who has kindly given me this coin for study and publication. Long back, while touring in the Wardha district he obtained this coin from village headman of Paunar who seems to have picked it up from the ruins in the village. Paunar is an ancient village in Vidarbha, which is believed to be the city of Pravarapura, the capital of the Vākāṭakas from the time of Pravarasena II.

The description of the coins is as follows: Metal: alloyed copper; Shape: round; Diameter: 1.8 cm. or 0.75 inches; Weight: 5.2 grmms.

Obverse : Sturdy bull with prominent hump standing facing right, decorated with *jhālar* or *pardā* around its hump, within a circle inside a beaded border. Letter '*Vi*' horizontally written above the back of the bull.

Reverse : Wheel depicted in a manner as if viewed from sides, with its axle prominent, terminated by a dot on each side; a crescent with a dot in it in each of the four corners; the whole in a radiated circle,

[Pl. IV. 1]

This coin resembles, in respect of fabric and type those illustrated by A.M. Shastri[1]. The reverse device of these coins is the same, while the obverse device is different. On Shastri's coin we have a well-decorated lion facing right with gaping mouth, curled up tail and left forepaw raised instead of the standing bull found on our coin.

This is a new variety of Vishṇukuṇḍin coins hitherto not reported from any of the places either in Andhra or in Vidarbha.

1. *JNSI*, XX VIII, pt. 2, pp. 164-169, pl. IV.

But this variety is seen represented on some coins found in the hoard of Vishṇukuṇḍin coins reported from the Paunar.[1]

So far seven varieties of the coins attributed to the Vishṇu-kuṇḍins have come to light in different places in the coastal Andhra, Telangana and the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra. All these varieties can be broadly grouped into two main types with (1) Lion and (2) Bull motifs as obverse devices. In each type we again notice three varieties of reverse devices viz., (1) Kalaśa on a stand flanked by a lamp-stand on either side, (2) a wheel depicted in a manner as if viewed from sides, and (3) a conch shell. Besides these varieties in Bull type another variety of reverse device viz., *Śūla* or *Daṇḍa* flanked by two lamps with long curved handles is reported from Gurzala in Guntur District of Coastal Andhra.[2]

Of all these varieties, the Lion and Kalaśa variety seems to be a general type found both in Andhra-Telangana and Vidarbha. In other varieties, Bull and Śaṅkha, and Bull and Daṇḍa coins are reported from Yeleswaram[3] and Gurzala respectively in coastal Andhra which are conspicuous by their absence in Vidarbha where the rest of the varieties, viz., Lion and Chakra; Lion and Śaṅkha; Bull and Kalaśa, and Bull and Chakra, are found. Thus the number of varieties available in Vidarbha is larger than those available in the Andhra-Telangana region

Sir Walter Elliot originally held that the Lion and Kalaśa type coins were the issues of the Pallavas while Smith supported him and C. J. Brown doubtfully regarded them so. But from the provenance of these coins in the Coastal Andhra which was includ-ed in the kingdom of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and their imitation by the Eastern Chālukyas who were the immediate political successors of the Vishṇukuṇḍins in Andhra, one tends to suppose that they may be the issues of the Vishṇukuṇḍins as suggested by R. Subrah-manyan and M. Rama Rao. Besides, it is observed by Rama Rao[4] that the seals of the Chikkulla plates of Vikramendravarman and

1. S. B. Deo and M. K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavations*, p. 14, pls. XVII, XVIII, nos. 1 & 3.
2. R. Subrahmanyam, *Tuṇḍi Copper-plate Grant of Vikramendravarman*, p. 45.
3. A. Wahid Khan, *A Monogram on Yeleswaram Excavations*, p. 56.
4. M. Rama Rao, *JNSI*, XXVIII, Pt. I, p. 40.

the Ramathirtham plates of Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman contain the Lion emblem similar to that found on the coins and that the seals on Ipur I[1] and Ipur II plates of Madhavavarman contain the symbol of Kalaśa flanked by lamp-posts on either side. In support of these two motifs Rama Rao further draws similarities from the sculptural motifs of Lion and Kalaśa designs depicted on the pillar bases in the caves at Uṇḍavalli and Mogalrajapuram near Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh which are attributed to the Vishṇukuṇḍins. In view of these facts, there need not be any doubt about their issue by the Vishṇukuṇḍins.

In Paunar, the coins of the Lion motif also have had, besides the Kalaśa motif, other two devices, viz. *Śaṅkha* and *Chakra* on their reverse. Again with the repetition these three devices on the reverse, the obverse Lion motif is seen replaced by a Bull, giving thus the indication that both the Lion and Bull type coins with the three different reverse devices are the issues of the Vishṇukuṇḍins. This indication seems to be reasonable from the occurence of the coins of both the types in coin hoards at Paunar as well as at Yeleshwaram in Andhra.

As observed by R. Subrahmanyam[2], it apears that the Vishṇukuṇḍins were the worshippers of Śiva. This is borne out by their records which invariably start with the salutations to Śiva, the Lord of Śri Parvata i. e., Mallikārjuna of Śriśailam. Their ardent faith in Śiva is further clear from the grant made by Vikramendravarman in favour of Tryambaka alias Somagirīśvaranātha Śiva on the banks of Krishna. From these facts it does not altogether seem to be improbable that the Bull (Nandin) type coins also were the issues of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and as such the Nandin and Daṇḍa or Śūla type coins of Gurzala which are simllar in fabric and type but smaller in size and weight, probably intended for smaller denominations, can also be attributed to the Vishṇukuṇḍins as opined by Subrahmanyam. In such a case the opinion of Rama Rao supported by A. M. Shastri[3] that they are to be assigned to the Pallavas requires to be changed.

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1. R. Subrahamanyam describes the emblem on the seal as *Nandipada* flanked by lamp-posts on either side: Tuṇḍi Copper Plate Grant of Vikramendravarman.

2: Ibid., p. 25.

3. A. M. Shastri, *JNSI*, XXVIII, Pt. II, p. 166.

The present coin bears the letter *vi* in Brahmī characters depicted horizontally over the back of the Bull. Similar letters *ka, vi-ka-ra-ma*; *ma, ka*; *ka-ra* and sometimes the *yya* symbol also are seen on some of the coins. It appears that during the time of Vikramendravarman an attempt was made by the mint masters to indicate the name of the issuing king by depicting in an abbreviated form.[1]

Besides the four coins of Lion and Kalaśa type found—two from Nevasa excavations, one at Bhandara and one with Mirashi, the bulk of coins with new varieties come from Paunar. The presence of these coins that too of a small dynasty like the Vishṇukuṇḍins at Paunar in Vidarbha indicates that at one time in history Vidarbha or a portion of it was included in the Vishṇukuṇḍin territory as suggested by A. M. Shastri and Madhavavarman may have been the powerful ruler who extended his kingdom upto Vidarbha. This portion seems to have been retained and ruled by the Vishṇukuṇḍins for one or two generations thereafter during which time Paunar may have been an important seat of authority where from the viceroy of the Vishṇukuṇḍins could exercise his authority over the newly annexed territories. Probably a mint also may have been opened to issue the coinage in new types for circulation. It may not be unlikely that Mādhavavarman's son Vikrmendravarman who is said to have adorned the twin families of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and the Vākāṭakas by his birth, may have acted as viceroy from Paunar for sometime.

1. A Wahid Khan supposes that this practice was later replaced by the introduction on the royal seal of the "double *ya*" symbol. A terracotta seal with that symbol was found from the same layer in excavations, *A Monograph on Yeleswaram Excavations*, p. 56.

A NOTE ON ŚRI-VIGRAHA COINS

Samaresh Bandyopadhyay

In a note published in this *Journal*[1] R. K. Sethi refers to L. Gopal's classification of the so-called *Śrī Vigraha* coins[2] along with the coins of the Gurjara Pratihāras[3] and states that though these coins have been found with the *Ādivarāha* coins of Mihira Bhoja, have the typical angular lettering of the *Ādivarāha* coins and, like the *Ādivarāha* pieces, bear the representation of a crude altar, the fact that no Vigraha of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty is yet known, the coins should not be classed along with the money of that dynasty. According to Sethi, as the rude fire-altar is taken from the Indo-Sassanian coins, king Vigraha should be looked for in some dynasty associated with the Indo-Sassanian coins. Sethi also thinks that as the coins under consideration have the angular letters like those of the *Ādivarāha* coins of MihiraBhoja, they should be placed at a time close to the date of that monarch who ruled in the ninth century A. D. Accordingly, he has traced four kings known by the name of Vigraha in the Chauhān dynasty of Śākambharī (modern Sambhar in Rajasthan), and after examining the cases of each of these Vigraha, he attributed the coins to Vigraharāja II mentioned in a stone inscription of A. D. 973 from Harsha in the Sikar district of Rajasthan, the first Vigraharāja being considered too early for the coins and the third and fourth too late.

A close study of the available materials, however, makes the attribution of the *Śrī Vigraha* coins to Vigraharāja II of the Chauhan dynasty altogether improbable. At the outset, we find it difficult to accept Sethi's restoration of the name as Vigraharāja instead of Vigrahapāla on the coins. As some of the coins have the latter *pa*

1. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 208-10.
2. The debased silver coins bearing on the obverse rude traces of the Sassanian 'Head to right' with a two line proto-Nāgarī legend in front reading (1) *Śrī* (2) *Vi* or (1) *Śrī* (2) *Vigra*, and on the reverse indications of the Sassanian 'fire-altar' with one attendant on either side are generally known as the *Śrī Vigraha* coins.
3. *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India* (1966), p. 67.
4. Bidyabinod, *Supplementary Catalogue of Coins of the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 56.

in place of *gra* immediately after *vi*, the full name or *biruda* of the king seems to be Vigrahapāla, *vi* and *pa* standing respectively for *Vigraha* and *Pāla*. Secondly, if the *Śrī Vigraha* coins are same as the ones mentioned under the name *Vigrahapāla* or *Vigrahapālīya* or simply *Vigraha-dramma* in the Siyadoni (Jhansi District, U. P.) inscription,[1] as they are generally supposed to be, then it becomes difficult to attribute the coins to Vigraharāja II of the Chauhān dynasty, as the latter is known from the Harsha inscription mentioned above, to have ruled at least half a century later than the date of the Siyadoni inscription, e. g., V. S. 965 (A. D. 908-09) mentioning the *Vigrahapāla-dramma*.

Sethi tries to prove that the Chauhāns were associated with the Indo-Sassanians on the basis of some coins of Ajayarāja's queen Somalekhādevī which are classed with the Gadhia group. There is no doubt that the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* speaks of Somalekhā, wife of Ajayarāja as striking new *rūpakas* daily,[2] but in view of the fact that the coins bear on them the name Somaladevī and not Somalekhā the attribution of the coins classed with the Gadhia group to Somalekhā has been doubted. In fact, it has been pointed out that the Chaulukya king Bhīma II (A. D. 1235-1298) had a queen of the name Sūmaladevī who issued a copper plate jointly with her husband,[3] and it is believed that this Sūmaladevī issued the coins with the legend Somaladevī and that *Bhīmapriya-dramma* mentioned in the inscriptions and *Bhimapurī* coins of the *Dravyaparīkshā* of Ṭhakkura Pherū probably denote these coins of Somaladevī.[4]

Regarding Sethi's reference to Gopal's classification of the *Śrī Vigraha* coins with the coins of the Gurjara Pratihāras, referred

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I., pp. 162-79. For *Vigrahapāla-dramma*, *Vigrapāliya-dramma* and *Vigraha-dramma*, see 1.30, 1.24 and 1.26 of the inscription respectively.

2. A. K. Majumdar, *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956, p. 269. Gopal, however, does not accept the attribution of the coins to the queen of Chaulukya Bhīma II. (*op. cit.*, p. 67).

3. The Kadi plate no. 8 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., pp. 207-08). It consists of two plates, the first bearing the sign mannual *Mahārajñī Śrī-Sumaladevyā* (*ścha*), and the second *Śrīmad Bhīmadevasya*.

4. [The coins of Somaladevī are found along with those of Ajayarāja (or Ajayadeva) of the Chāhamāna dynasty in a hoard and this evidence favours the attribution of these coins to Ajayarāja's queen Somalekhā. It can also be recalled here that she is mentioned as Somalladevī in the Bijholi rock inscription (*EI*, XXVI, p. 93)–*N.A.*]

to above, it may be observed that Gopal's grouping is not his own. Much before him, the coins were so classed by R. C. Kar after a thorough study of the coins[1]. It is to be pointed out in this connection that Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India* also remarked that 'as the Siron inscription calls the coins *Vigrahapāla-drammas*, the prince may have belonged to the Raghuvaṁśa family of Bhojadeva, as all of his known successors took the suffix of *Pāla*',[2] though originally he assigned the pieces to Vigrahapāla, one of the successors of Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Magadha or Eastern India.[3] Rapson, however, attributed the coins to Vigrahapāla I of the Pāla dynasty[4], and according to Smith, the coins may be assigned 'with almost positive certainty to one or other of the kings of Magadha named Vigrahapāla'.[5] Smith described these coins as an 'Eastern or Magadha Type' of medieval Indo-Sassanian coins and assigned the least barbarous specimens to Vigrahapāla I, the wholly corrupt ones, to Vigrahapāla III, and the less debased pieces, tentatively to Vigrahapāla II. As Vigrahapāla I (c. A. D. 854-57) and Vigrahapāla II (c. A. D. 992)[6] were very weak rulers and reigned for very short periods, H. C. Ray attributed the coins of this type to Vigrahapāla III (c. A. D. 1054-81) of the Pāla dynasty, assigning the better specimens to the earlier part of his reign.[7] Ray's attribution is not, however, supported by the Siyadoni inscription, which as noted above, shows that the *Vigrahapāla-drammas* were current as early as 908-09, i. e. about one hundred and fifty years before their supposed issuer ascended the throne. The grounds on which the coins are thus assigned to one or other of the Pāla kings named Vigrahapāla may be put forward under the following broad heads :

1. Kar, R.C., 'Vigrahpāla Coins—Not a Magadha Type', *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, II (New Series, Part II, 1954), pp. 72-7.
2. P. 51, pl. VI. 16.
3. *ARASI*, Vol. XI, pp. 174-75.
4. *Indian Coins*, pp. 31, 34.
5. *IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 233-34, 239.
6. This is H. C. Ray's date for Vigrahapāla II (*DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 385). R. C. Majumdar, however, assigns a long reign period to Vigrahapāla II (*c.* A. D. 960-88). According to D. C. Sircar, the Bongaon plate of Vigrahapāla III dated in regnal year 17 shows that Vigrahapāla III had a long reign period and Vigrahapāla II ruled for a very short time (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 51).
7. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 330.

(a) The name or *biruda* of the king, as occurring on the coins, supports its restoration as Vigrahapāla.

(b) The three Vigrahapālas of the Pāla dynasty, were the only Vigrahapālas known, whose dates would suit the coins.[1]

(c) The coins were known to have been very common in Bihar and the eastern districts of U. P.[2] suggesting the ancient territory of Magadha as the country of their origin.

(d) The coins have also been found from Bengal, the original home of the Pālas, though not in abundance. Sethi following Gopal, however, states that no *Śrī-Vigraha* coin has come to light from Bengal, the original home of the Pālas. This is, however, not supported by evidence as the discovery of such coins during the excavations at Paharpur has actually been reported as early as 1927-28.[3]

But the attribution of the coins in question to any of the Pāla kings named Vigrahapāla does not seem likely in view of the fact that the *Adivarāha-dramma* and the *Vigrahapāla-dramma* find simultaneous mention in the Siyadoni inscription, that the two types of coins have been found together, sometimes the two classes being noticed in a single hoard,[4] and that stylistically the two classes

1. *CMI*, p. 51.
2. *IMC*, p. 243 and note 1. As Kar has pointed out, these coins have been found in the western districts of U. P., viz., Kheri, Hamirpur, Aligarh and Bareilly.
3. *ARASI*, 1927-98, pp. 104-5, and Pl. XLVII, (e) 2. Cf. also K. N. Dikshit, Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal', *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55, Delhi, 1938. According to Dikshit, the debased specimens of the *Śrī-Vigraha* coins were 'issued after the original by other rulers, not necessarily of the Pāla dynasty'. P.C. Chakravarti (*The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. R.C. Majumdar, p. 667) seems to attribute the coins to the Pālas when he states that the extreme scarcity and the generally debased character of these coins' show that the attempt of the Pāla rulers to introduce a currency of their own was a faint hearted one and was soon abandoned.'
4. Beside stray pieces *Ādivarāha and Vigrahapāla* coins in the same stratum (*Anc. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 39-40), a single hoard of these two classes of coins has come to light during the excavations at Ahicchatra (Ramnagar in the Bareilly district, U.P.). Three other hoards discovered in the districts of Kheri, Aligarh and Hamirpur comprise both *Vigrahapāla* and *Adivarāha drammas*, the Hamirpur

exhibit close similarities. Kar, therefore, places the coins along with the coins of the Gurjara Pratihāras. He, however, regards the *Śrī-Vigraha* coins as earlier in date than the *Ādivarāha-drammas*. According to him, the coins should be assigned either part of the reign of Bhoja I, or more probably to one of his predecessors, namely Nāgabhaṭṭa II (c. A. D. 800-33), who was the first to transfer the family's seat to Kanauj and lay the foundation of its imperial greatness.' He is of the opinion that 'it is not impossible that Nāgabhaṭa II Nāgāvaloka assumed, though as yet unknown to us, a *biruda* ending with the *Pāla* suffix, such as these coins suggest, after coming into contact with the pāla kings' of Eastern India. The grounds on which the *Śrī-Vigraha* coins have been placed earlier are as follows :

(1) The priests one either side of the fire-alter on the reverse of the Sassanian prototype, still appear in human form, though very much rude and thin, on the earliest and most refined *Śrī-Vigraha* pieces, while on the 'more degenerated specimens the figures of the attendant priests look like a pair of creepers with buds'. The same motif of the fire-altar with attendant priests is also noticed on the reverse of the *Ādivaraha* coins, the earliest and most refined specimens of which have been attributed to Bhoja I. The figures appear on the *Ādivarāha* pieces exactly in the same way in which they are seen on the degenerated specimens.

(2) The fire-altar has been treated on the earliest and the most refined specimens of the *Ādivarāha* coins 'more in the manner of the fire-altar on the degenerated Vigrahapāla coins than in that of the fire-altar on their earliest and most refined examples.'

(3) 'The form of the palatal *Ś* (which may be taken as a test letter) with an open loop in the left limb, occurring

hoard yielding in addition some *Vināyakapāla-drammas* as well (*GVPHS*, New Series, 1954, p. 77). The discovery of the *Śrī-Vigraha* coins along with the *Ādivarāha* and *Vināyakapāla-drammas* makes it difficult to be certain whether all the *Śrī-Vigraha* coins could be taken as issues of the private agencies or not, for the *Ādivarāha* and *Vināyakapāla-drammas* are believed to have been issued originally by Bhoja I and Vīnāyakapāla respectively.

in the reverse legend of the earliest and most refined among the *Ādivarāha* coins, is later than the form of the same letter with a closed loop in the left limb found on the earliest and most refined Vigrahapāla coins, and approximates to the form of palatal *ś* found on the more degenerated examples of the latter type.'

(4) The obverse motif of the *Śrī-Vigraha* coins exhibits Sassanian influence in its depiction of the bust. But, little Sassanian influence is noticed on that of even the earliest Ādivarāha pieces.

Kar explains the frequent find of the *Śrī-Vigraha* coins in Bihar by stating that these coins probably found their way into Magadha in the course of Mahendrapāla I's conquest of that region.

S. C. Ray supports Kar and suggests further that the *Śrī-Vigraha* coins were 'struck by the predecessors of Bhoja I', for according to him, 'both the *Śrī-Vigraha* and the *Ādivarāha* coins are found in such abundance that their attribution to a single monarch in an age when the kings were usually shy in striking coins does not seem probable.'[1]

The various stages of degeneration noticed on the *Śrī-Vigraha* coins, as noticed above, may not be taken as indications of the existence of different Vigrahapālas. On the analogy of the *Ādivarāha* coins, it may be suggested that the coin-type continued to be imitated long after it was started originally by a king having the name or more probably the *biruda* Śrī Vigrahapāla, but whose identity can not be settled in the present state of our knowledge.

1. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 1[illegible]4.

MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA—A STUDY IN THE CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIC LIFE

(600-800 A. D.)

Sachchidanand Sahai

In South-East Asia, the first centuries of the Christian era saw the rise of kingdoms which were influenced by Indian culture. In *cir.* first century A.D., an Indianised state was founded in Cambodia by the Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya.[1] The year 192 A. D. marks the establishment of a kingdom in the region of the present city of Hué which is mentioned under the name of Lin-yi by the Chinese sources. There is, however, no evidence to prove that this kingdom, known as Champā in the later Sanskrit sources, came under the influence of the Hindu civilisation as early as the second century A. D. Only from the fourth century A. D., with the appearance of Sanskrit inscriptions the definite evidences of the Indianisation of Champā are available.[2]

The Sanskrit inscriptions of the fourth century A. D. found at Kedah and other sites in the Malaya peninsula suggest that the first repercussions of the Indian civilisation were felt in this area a few centuries earlier than the date of these texts.[3] The seven inscriptions of Mūlavarman assignable to 400 A.D. and the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman which may be ascribed to *cir.* 450 A. D., attest the flourishing state of Hindu culture in Borneo and Java respectively.

On the eve of the penetration of Hindu culture in South-East Asia, the different peoples of this area were not barbarians. It is revealed from the archaeological researches that the late Neolithic phase was immediately followed by the first Indian remains in most of the South-East Asian sites. "On the coast of Vietnam and in Cambodia, there is nothing between the Neolithic strata

1. G. Coedès, *Les États Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, pp. 75-77.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-87. cf. G Coedes, *Les Peuples de la Péninsule Indochinoise*, pp. 66-67.
3. G. Coedès, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-106.

of Sa-huyunh and Samrong Sen and the Xuan-loc megalith on the one hand and the first monuments of Champa and Cambodia on the other. The Indian establishment of Oc Eo (in Cochin China) and of Kuala Selinsing (in the state of Perak in Malaya) from which come seals engraved with Sanskrit names in the writing of the second to fourth centuries, have also yielded instruments of polished stone. In the Celebes, a bronze Buddha of the Amarāvatī School was found at Sempaga above a Neolithic layer. So we can say, without great exaggeration, that the people of Farther India were still in the midst of late Neolithic civilisation when the Brahmano-Buddhist culture of India came into contact with them".[1]

This late Neolitic pre-Aryan civilisation of South-East Asia, also known under the name of Austro-Asiatic culture, had its prominent characteristic traits which may be summarised in the words of J. Przyluski : "With regard to material culture, the cultivation of irrigated rice, domestication of cattle and buffalo, rudimentary use of metals, knowledge of navigation ; with regard to the social system, the importance of the role conferred on women and of relationships in the maternal line, and an organisation resulting from the requirements of irrigated agriculture ; with regard to religion, belief in animism, the worship of ancestors and of the god of the soil, the building of shrines in high places, burial of the dead in jars or dolmens, with regard to mythology, a cosmological dualism in which are opposed the mountain and the sea, the winged race and the aquatic race, the men of heights and those of coasts" with regard to linguistics, the use of isolating languages with a rich faculty of derivation by means of prefixes, inffixes.[3]

Thus .."the Indians were not confronted by uncultured 'savages' but, on the contrary, by people endowed with a civili-

1. Henri, Mansuy, *Stations préhistoriques de Somrong-Seng et de Longprao* (Cambodge), Hanoi, 1902 ; "*Resultats de nouvelles recherches effectués dans le gisement préhistorique de Somrong-Seng (Cambodge)*, *Memories du service Géologique de l'Indochine*, X, 1 ; Henri, Parmentier, "*Vestiges mégalithiques ā Xuan-Loc*", *BEFEO*, XXVIII, pp. 479-85 ; cf. Emile Caspadone, "*The tomb of Xuan-loc*", *JGIS*, IV (1937), pp. 26-35 ; Henri, Parmentier, "*Depots de jarres ā Sa-huynh (Quang-ngai, Annam)*" *BEFEO*, XXIV, pp. 321-43, Madeleine Colani, *Megalithes du Haut-Laos*, II, pp. 237 ff ; cf. G. Coedes, *The Indianised States of South-East Asia*, pp. 7-8.
2. *Indochine*, ed., S. Lêvi (Paris 1931), p. 54.
3. G. Coedès, *The Indianised States of South-East Asia*, p. 9.

sation that had traits in common with the civilisation of pre-Aryan India. The speed and ease with which the Aryanised Indians propagated their culture is undoubtedly explained in part by the fact that, in the customs and beliefs of these immigrants, the natives discovered, under an Indian veneer, a base common to all of Monsoon Asia".[1]

The kingdoms of South-East Asia, which were founded in the first centuries of the Christian Era, flourished for centuries and attempted to enrich their civilisation, to organise their state and government, to give forceful expression to their artistic imagination by a deep and through study of the Indian civilisation. The Indian experience of the state and administration was useful to the peoples of this part of Asia, who built up a formidable administrative machinery which corresponded to the local needs.[2]

In the realm of arts, as Sylvain Levi has said, India "produced its definitive master-works only through the activity of the foreigner or on foreign soil....In architecture, it is in distant Cambodia and Java that we must seek the two marvels born of Indian genius : Angkor and Borobudur".[3] The South-East Asian peoples adopted the Indian script which gave a definite and stable form to the native languages. In fact, the common Indian origin of the Mon, Burmese, Thai, Khmer, Cham, Javanese, and Balinese systems of writing is still recognisable. The ancient epigraphical records utilise the Śaka Era. "The Indian lunar-solar year is still in popular use and the dating systems in use, including both the Buddhist era system based on 543 B. C. and the "little era" system based on A. D. 638, are also of Indian origin".[4]

Strangely enough, these nations of South-East Asia which borrowed from India several elements of a technically advanced civilisation, did not evolve a system of currency which marks the transformation of a primitive society into a highly developed one from the economic point of view.

It is still more curious in view of the fact that the development of the Hindu civilisation was closely watched and followed

1. *Ibid*, p. 15.
2. Sachchidanand Sahai, *Les Institutions Politiques et l'Organisation Administrative du Cambodge Ancien* (in press).
3. Sylvain Levi, *L'Inde civilisatrice* (Paris, 1938), p. 28.
4. G. Coedes, *The Indianised States of South-East Asia*, p. 255.

by these countries. For instance, every important development in the Brāhmī script of Indian inscriptions had its almost immediate repercussions on ancient Cambodian palaeography. It is equally remarkable that the system of currency came into existence in India many centuries earlier than the penetration of the Hindu civilization in South-East Asia.

One fails to understand why the ruling classes of South-East Asia, which highly appreciated the Sanskrit language, thoroughly studied the Indian texts of state-craft and accepted the introduction of the Indian script and calendar in their realm, were too indifferent to evolve a system of the coinage inspired either by the Indian tradition or any other tradition.[1]

In Burma, the first documents regarding the existence of coinage appear at the end of the sixteenth century A. D. according to A. Phayre.[2] The system of coinage was unknown during the period of Dvārāvatī, (550-1000 A. D.) when the central plain of Siam was occupied by the Indianised Mons who are also called Tailang.[3]

In Cambodia, the system of currency made its first appearance probably in the sixteenth century A.D. The Cambodian chronicles inform us that it was the userper Kan (1499 or 1512-1505 or 1526 A. D.) who introduced the coinage in his kingdom and declared it a royal privilege to issue coins. The use of currency is well attested at the end of the Sixteenth century A. D. by the Spanish writers Quiroga de Sen Antonio and Jaque. In fact, the museum of Phonom Penh has got a collection of coins in silver and bronze which correspond exactly to the descriptions furnished by the Spanish writers [4]

From Oc Eo (Cambodia) have been collected a certain number of silver coins which bear no legend and are archaic in form. On the obverse they have a symbol which resembles a *Śrīvatsa* and on the reverse a conch (?) or a motif of *Sūrya* (?). L. Malleret

1. A few Gupta coins have been found from Java.
2. Phayre, Sir Arthur, *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*, p. 47. Cf. L. Malleret, *L'Archéologie du Deltu Du Mekong, Tome*, III, p. 134.
3. J. D. Campos, "The Origin of Tical", *Journal of Siam Society*, XXXIII, 2, 1941, pp. 119-120.
4. G. Groalier, *Recherches Cambodgiennes*, p. 30. Cf. B. Ph. Groslier, *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI siecle*, p. 163.

ascribes them to the period of Funan.[1] But in the absence of all indices, chronological as well as geographical, it is not possible to attribute them to this early epoch.[2] Moreover, the Combodian inscriptions do not refer to a system of coinage. All the commercial transactions described in these documents are based upon the barter system.

Thus, the absence of coinage in ancient Cambodia leads us to analyse the barter system. We propose to define the diverse aspects of the system and to trace out its different stages with a view to throw light on the economic conditions of ancient Cambodia.

The extent epigraphical records of Funan do not record any transaction based upon the barter system. According to the Chinese sources, during this period tax was, however, paid in gold, silver, pearl, etc [3]

The pre-Angkorian inscriptions, while enumerating different objects donated to the religious foundations, refer to a number of denominations of weight and measurement units and describe some transactions based upon the system of barter.

Now we propose to first note the different units of measurement and weight and then analyse a few transactions recorded in the texts of the pre-Angkorian period.

The terms *sanre, sare, pāda, mās* occur in the pre-Angkorian texts as units of measurement for paddy fields. The term *sanre* is utilised in a record of 639 A. D. which mentions the donation of 10, 20, 60, 80 and 100 *sanre* of plots to a dvinity.[4] The word *sare* appears in the texts of the seventh-eighth century A. D. Donation of a plot of 20 *sare* is related in a text of this epoch.[5] Another text of the same period gives a list of 20 paddy fields most of which were of 2 *sare.*[6]

1. Malleret, *op. cit*, p. 134.
2. J. Biosselier, *Le Cambodge*, p. 359.
3. Pelliot, P., *Le Founan*, p. 254.
4. G. Coedes, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, V, pp. 36-37 (K. 9). Onwards, this work is referred to under the abbreviated form of *IC*. Cf. *IC*, V, p. L/24 (K. 505-639 A. D.). A text of the reign of Īśānavarman I records the donation of one *sanre* of paddyfield (*Sre moy sanre*), *IC*, VI, p. 45 (K. 80). Cf. IC, V, p. 70 (K. 689): 7 *Sanre* of paddy field.
5. *IC*, VI, p. 17 (K. 648).
6. *IC*, V, pp. 66-68 L/13-19 (K. 155).

Both of the expressions seem to be derived from the Khmer term *sre* (paddy field). But the difference between the two expressions remains shrouded in the darkness. One of the texts of the seventh century A. D. (Īśānavarman I) makes it, however, clear that two different units are meant by the two terms.

Pāda appears to be another important measure for paddy fields. A text of 665 A. D. records the donotion of a plot of one *sanre* and another of one *pāda*.[1] One other pre-Angkorian inscription mentions the paddy fields measured in *pāda* and *sare*.[2] Thus, it is beyond doubt that *pāda* stands for a measure different from *sare* and *sanre*.

An epigraphical record of the seventh century A.D., according to which one *sanre* was cut out of each *pāda* of two paddy fields most probably for donating the land to a dvinity,[3] leads us to think that *pāda* was a higher unit of measurement than *sanre*.

In Sanskrit *pāda* stands for a measure equal to one-fourth of the standard land measure and corresponds to the term *hāḍa* in Kannaḍa.[4]

The term *mās* also designates a measure of land in the pre-Angkorian texts. The superficies of several plots are indicated in *mās* in a document of the reign-period of Īśānvarman I (616-635 A. D.).[5]

A text of 651 A. D. notes the purchase of a paddy field of one *pāda* and adds that one plot of two *mās* was situated at one place and another tract of 2 *mās* at a different place.[6] Thus, it seems probable that one *pāda* consisted of four *mās*.

The origin, exact meaning and value of the unit of *mās* is unknown. This Khmer term may correspond to Sanskrit *māsha* which is a measure of space according to *Maya*:

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1. *IC*, VI, pp. 10-11 L/17-18 (K. 115).
2. *IC*, VII, p 101 (K. 757); cf. IC, VI, p. 37 (K. 73).
3. *IC*, V, pp. 71-72 L/7, 15 ; p. 72 N. 1 (K 790) *pāda kāch moy sanrey*.
4. Sircar, D.C., *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 419; cf. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 223.
5. *IC*, III, pp. 146-147. The paddy fields mentioned in this text are either of three or ten *mās*, A plot of seven *mās* is referred to in another inscription of this period. *IC*, V, 83-84 (K. 128) ; cf. *IC*; VI, p. 63 (K. 811); *IC*, VII, p. 101 (K. 757),
6. *IC*, V, p. 40, (K. 910).

8 *dhanuḥ* = 1 *kākaṇikā*
32 *dhanuḥ* = 1 *māsha*
128 *dhanuḥ* or 4 *māsha* = 1 *vartanaka*
5 *vartana* = 1 *vāṭikā.*

Pran Nath takes the term *Vāṭikā* for a synonym of *veli* which is equivalent to 27,753 square metres (5 or 6 acres) in modern times.[1] Thus, a *māsha* would be equal to nearly ¼ acre.

The weight of grains is indicated in *tloṅ, je, liḥ, prastha droṇa* etc. The term *tloṅ* occurs frequently in the pre-Angkorian inscriptions as an unit of weight for grains. The Angkorian form of the same expression seems to be *thlvoṅ* or *thlvaṅ*. One *tloṅ* of rice is mentioned in an inscription of 680 A. D. among the commodities granted for the rainy season (*nibandha varsha*).[2] The quantity of sesame, millet and paddy is indicated in *tloṅ* and *je* in an inscription of 725 Śaka.[3] The production of paddy fields is indicated in *tloṅ* in a text of the seventh century A. D.[4]

Je, which literally means basket in old Khmer, designates another important measure of weight for grains.[5] A number of texts, which seem to utilise the two terms *tloṅ* and *je* as different weight units of the same system, suggest to us that *tloṅ* was a higher unit than *je*.[6] *Liḥ* is another unit of weight for cereals. From a text of 725 Śaka, it appears that this term represented an unit lower than that of *je*.[7]

As an unit of weight for grains, *prastha* occurs in a text of 596 Śaka,[8] and *droṇa* in a Sanskrit text assignable to the seventh century A. D., on palaeographic grounds.[9] *Kuñchī* is yet another unit of

1. *ashṭa-dhanuś caturaśrā kākaṇikā tach-chaturguṇaṃ māshaṁ māshachatur-vartanakaṁ tat-pañcha-guṇaṁ hi vāṭikā kathitā Mayamata* (*EI*, vol. XV, No. 5, p. 55. Cf. Pran Nath, *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, pp. 84-85.
2. *IC*, V, p. 51 (K. 451).
3. *IC*, III, p. 170 (K. 124); cf. *IC*, V, p. 75 (K. 726).
4. *IC*, V, p. 71-72 (K. 790).
5. *IC*, V, p. 49 (K. 451), 680 A. D.
6. *IC*, IV, p. 36 (K. 688); *IC*, III, p. 170 (K. 124); *IC*, V, pp. 71-72 (K. 790).
7. *IC*, III, p. 170 (K. 724). The text mentions 3 *je* and 9 *liḥ* of ginger, cf. *IC*, V, p. 58 (K. 749) : 2 *liḥ* of rice, *IC*, VI, p. 27 (K. 48).
8. *IC*, VI, pp. 24-25 (K. 341). The text mentions 5 *prastha* of rice and 2 *prastha* of *mudgā*
9. *IC*, V, p. 62. st. II (K. 360) : One *droṇa* of *ghṛita*, honey and sugar.

weight for paddy which occurs in a Sanskrit text of the seventh century A. D.[1]

The pre-Angkorian documents appear to be of no help to us for determining the weight represented by *tloṅ*, *je*, *liḥ* etc. An inscription of 1051 A. D., which is partly bilingual and gives an exact translation of a portion of the Khmer text in Sanskrit, establishes the equivalence between Khmer and Sanskrit denominations of measures for grains[2] :

Khārī (4 *droṇa*)	= *thlvaṅ* (4 *je*)
Droṇa (4 *āḍhaka*)	= *je* (15 *liḥ*)
Āḍhaka (4 *prastha*)	
Prastha (4 *kuḍuva*)	= *liḥ* (4 *avar*)
Kuḍuva	= *avar*

It is interesting to note that while the *droṇa* is equivalent to 16 *prastha* in Sanskrit, the *je* Khmer word for *droṇa*, consists of only 15 *liḥ* (*prastha* = *liḥ*).[3]

It appears that the units of weight for grains were based on the cubic measures. For this purpose the measuring pots were made according to the standard of weights.[4] According to Charaka, *pātra* was a synonym of *āḍhaka* and *kalaśa* or *ghaṭa* of *droṇa*.[5] The Khmer term *je*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *droṇa*, also means a basket, as we have noted above. It appears that *Khārī* was the unit for measuring large heaps of corn, as in the expression *khāra-śatika rāśi* and *khāra-sāhasrika rāśi*, heap of corn on the threshing floor weighing 100 and 1000 *khārī* (Patañjali, *Mahābhāshya* V. 1. 58).[6]

From Kauṭilya, the sequence of heavy weights for cubic measures may be understood as follow.[7]

4 *Kuḍava* = 1 *prastha*
4 *Prastha* = 1 *āḍhaka*

1. *IC*, V, p. 62. st. II (K. 360): The text mentions 4 *kuñchī* of paddy. Mr. Coedes says that one *kuñchi* consisted of 8 handfuls of grains. But he does not give the source of this information, *ibid*, p. 61 n. 3.
2. *IC*, III, pp. 181-182.
3. *IC*, III, p. 181, n. 4.
4. Srivastava, B. "Weights and Measures in Ancient India", *JNSI*, XXV (1963) part II, p. 143.
5. Kalpasthāna, 12/94. Cf. Agravala, V. S. *Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarsha* pp. 244-245.
6. Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 245.
7. *Arthaśāstra*, 2/19.

4 *Āḍhaka* = 1 *droṇa*
16 *Droṇa* = 1 *khārī*.

On the basis of the *Arthaśāstra*, it has been suggested that one *droṇa* (4 *āḍhaka*) is equal to 10 *seers*. But Kauṭilya, who describes four types of *droṇa*, differs considerably from Charaka on the weight of this unit. According to the latter, one *droṇa* should be equal to $12\frac{4}{5}$ *seers*.[1]

Thus, it appears that the same cubical measure indicated different weights in different periods and localities ef ancient India and the Khmer equivalents of the cubical measures in Sanskrit could not have escaped to the local and chronological variations.

The equivalence, established above between the Sanskrit and Khmer terms for cubical measures, on the basis of an Angkorian inscription, should have been known during the earlier period. The Khmer texts of the pre-Angkorian period, as we have noted above, utilise the Sanskrit as well as Khmer denominations. But in the absence of the bilingual texts for this period, it is not possible to reproduce definite evidences in favour of this equivalence during the pre-Angkorian epoch.

Antoṅ is yet another measure for oil and other liquids.[2] It appears that *mās* was an unit lower than *antoṅ*. In fact, in an inscription of 725 *Śaka*, the quantity of honey is noted as follows : 3 *antoṅ*, 6 *mās*; 1 *antoṅ*, 6 *mās*.[3] These two denominations should also represent cubical measure, though the texts are silent as regards their exact meaning. A pre-Angkorian text indicates the quantity of salt in *kñan*.[4]

Taṁliṅ appears to be an important unit of weight for silver during the pre-Angkorian period. A text of this period records the purchase of two paddy fields with 5 and 8 *taṁliṅ* of silver respectively.[5] Another text of this epoch notes the value (*mūlya*) of certain quantities of paddy in *taṁliṅ*.[6]

A text, which mentions 2 *bhāra*, 10 *tulā* of *madhūchchhrishṭa*, makes it clear that *bhāra* was a higher unit than *tulā*.[7] In fact,

1. Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 244.
2. *IC*, V, p. 51 (K. 451), 602 *Śaka*.
3. *IC*, III, p. 170 (K. 124).
4. *IC*, V, pp. 73-74 (K. 940).
5. *IC*, V. p. 32 (K. 41).
6. *IC*, V, p. 75 (K. 726).
7. *IC*, V, p. 272 (K. 421).

according to *Amarakośa*, 1 *bhāra* is equal to 8000 *karsha* or nearly 2½ *maunds*. This is supported by Kauṭilya who defines *bhāra* as equal to 20 *tulā*, (*viṁśati-tauliko bhāraḥ*, II. 19), *tulā* being equal to 100 *pala*, a *bhāra* would be 2000 *pala* or 2½ *maunds*.[1]

A text of 725 *Śaka* mentions 4 *tul* (*tulā*) and 10 *jyeṅ* of cotton and thus permits us to believe that *jyeṅ* was an unit lower than *tul* (*tulā*).[2] Another inscription which mentions 2 *bhāra*, 15 *jyeṅ*, 10 *liṅ* of *madhūchchhishṭa*, suggests that *liṅ* was an unit lower than *jyeṅ*.[3] Thus the sequence of these weight units would be :

4 *karsha*	=	1 *pala*
X *liṅ*	=	*jyeṅ*
100 *pala* (X *jyeṅ*	=	*tul* (*ā*)
20 *tulā*	=	*bhāra*.

The term *kaṭṭi*, as an unit of weight, also occurs in some texts. A silver *kośa* of 2 *kaṭṭi* is mentioned in a document of 573 *Śaka*.[4] The quantity of sandal is indicated in *kaṭṭi* in an inscription of 602 *Śaka*.[5]

Vyāma, a measure for length, occurs in a Sanskrit inscription of the reign-period of Īśānavarman I. According to this text, the *liṅga* measured 15½ *vyāma* in height and 56 *vyāma* in circumference. From the base of the *liṅga*, on the surface of the plains, the mountain measured 2720 *vyāma*.[6] Kauṭilya says that *vyāma*, used in measuring ropes and the depth of digging in terms of a man's height, is equal to 84 *aṅgula*.[7]

The exact meaning of the Khmer term *yau* utilised in the inscriptions for cloth, remains unexplained. A text of 639 A. D. mentions different kinds of tissues and notes a number of *yau* against each type of cloth.[8] An inscription of 573 *Śaka* refers to 16 *yau* of double cloth (*chanlek yugala yau 17*).[9] From the inscrip-

1. Agrawala, V. S, *op. cit.*, p. 246. It has been suggested that the quantity weighed at one time by a hand-balance was one *tulā* or 5 *seers* and a head-load carried by a human being was a *bhāra*, *ibid.*, p. 246.
2. *IC*, III, p. 170 (K. 124),
3. *IC*, V, p. 272 (K. 421).
4. *IC*, V, p. 39 (K. 910).
5. *IC*, V, p. 49 (K. 451) Cf. IC, VI, p. 67 (K. 877).
6. *IC*, IV, pp. 14-15 (K. 441).
7. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 20.
8. *IC*, V, p. 2 (K. 505). Cf. *IC*, III, p. 173 (K. 124), 725 Śaka.
9. *IC*, V, p. 40 (K. 910) ; Cf. *IC*, V, p. 49 (K. 451), 602 Śaka. Pāṇini refers to a double *śāṭaka* (*śāṭaka-yuga*, *1. 1. 36*, *Vār. 7*) including botk the *antarīya* and the *uttarīya*.

tions of the later period, it appears clearly that *yau* was not a measure of length. In fact, the text gives not only the number of *yau* but also the length of cloth in *hasta*.[1] It seems that *yau* was a denomination used for counting the number of pieces

As we have noted above, the pre-Angkorian texts, containing lists of slaves, land, grains etc. donated to the religious foundations, mention several units of weight and measurement prevalent during this period. But they describe very rarely the commercial transactions.

However, from an inscription of 573 *Śaka*, it appears that conch was a medium of exchange. The text records the purchase of one *pāda* of paddy field as the price of a conch. This indicates that conch was an important object of great value during this epoch. The same document adds that, in the reimbursement of his debt, an individual offered a low-land alongwith 140 (measure) of paddy, 17 coconut palm, 17 *yau* of cloth, one silver *kośha* of 2 *kaṭṭi*, one gold diadem etc.[2] Paddy, coconut palm, cloth, metallic vessels were, thus, other important media of exchange. Paddy was a staple crop and was such an important medium that its quantity is often mentioned only in numbers. For example, the expression "140 of paddy" means 140 measures of paddy. The measure of paddy was so important that the need was not felt to mention it by name.

The coconut palm was a very common tree in Ancient Cambodia. Metallic vessels and objects of rituals were needed in the household and the religious life of the people. It was thus natural that these objects were common media of barter. The slaves were another important medium of exchange. A paddy field worth 80 slaves is mentioned in a text of the eighth century A. D.[3]

An inscription of 803 A. D. mentions the purchase of oil with 1 *antvoṅ* and 6 *mās* of honey and of sirup with 2 *yau* of cloth. The same text further records the purchase of 2 *tul*(*ā*), 10 *jey* of oil with 1 *tul*(*ā*) of cotton.[4] Thus in the beginning of the ninth century A. D., the barter ratio of cotton and oil was approximately 1:2.

1. *IC*, IV, p. 193 (K. 258).
   Pāṇinī refers to *vasana* or a piece of cloth as a medium of exchange, the thing purchased in exchange for cloth being called *vāsana* (V. 1. 27) —Agrawala, V. S., *op, cit*., p. 238.
2. *IC*, V, p. 39 (K. 910).
3. *IC*, V, p: 83 (K. 133).
4. *IC*, III, p. 170 (K. 124).

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A detailed account of the purchase of several paddy fields is given in an inscription of the eighth century A. D. The objects acquired through barter and the objects given in exchange are recorded. The price (*jnāhv*) of the object given in exchange is is noted in paddy and the value (*mūlya*) of the paddy is indicated in fixed units of silver etc. The details of the transaction as recorded in the inscription are put below in the form of a Table, which indicates clearly that paddy and cloth were the standard media of barter. In majority of cases, the price (*jnāhv*) of the object given in exchange is indicated in paddy and cloth and the value (*mūlya*) of the latter (paddy and cloth) in the fixed unit of silver. The Khmer term *pañjāhv* means the act of exchanging one thing with another. The expression *jnāhv* is utilised in the sense of price of the object which is given in exchange. Finally, the Sanskrit term *mūlya* is employed for determining the value of the object described as the price (*jnāhv*) for the object given in exchange.

The Khmer system of barter seems to be more complex than that of India. In India, as it appears from the grammatical rules of Pāṇini, Patañjali etc., the importance was attached only to the determination of the barter ratio. It is suggested that the *sūtra* : "*saṁkhyāyā guṇāsya nimāne mayaṭ*" (5. II. 47), seeks to regulate the grammatical formation expressing the barter ratio on the pattern that the price of a portion of one thing is equal to so many portions of the other. While explaining the rule of barter on the basis of the above *sūtra* of *Pāṇini*, Kātyāyana also concentrates himself on the problem of the barter ratio. Kaiyaṭa, the commentator on Patañjali, says that the distinction between *nimāna* (the commodity given) and *nimeya* (the thing acquired in exchange) can be determined keeping in view only the customs of *deśa* and *kāla*.

Thus, the Indian system of barter appears to have three aspects : the object to be acquired (*nimeya*), the thing given in exchange (*nimāna*), the barter ratio or the comparative price of *nimāna* and *nimeya*.

On the basis of the aforesaid text, the Khmer pattern of barter appears to have a four-fold aspect: (a) object to be acquired, (b) the commodities given in exchange, (c) price of commodities normally indicated in paddy and cloth etc. (d) the value (*mūlya*) of paddy cloth etc. given in weight units of metals.

The Khmer system of barter, which was quite elaborated in the eighth century A. D. bears testimony to the evolution of the economic structure of the society which emerged out of a primitive structure based upon barter in its crudest form. The fixed metallic units of barter, which had already came into existence, formed the basis of some sort of quasi-currency. These metallic units were not much in circulation, as it appears from the table given below ; they served mostly for the evalution of the objects under the system of barter.

TABLE (K. 726. IC, V, p. 75)

Object acquired	Object given in exchange (*pañjāhv*)	Price of the object given in exchange (*jnāhv*)	Value (*mūlya*) of the object described as the price for the object given in exchange
Paddy field A/4-7.	Paddy field	Paddy	10 *taṁliṅ* of silver
Paddy field A/7-8.	......	Price	5 *taṁliṅ* of silver, 1 *yau* of double cloth
Paddy field A/9-10.	Capital of forced labour of *saṁpol* (?) women (*teṁ kāryya saṁpol strī*)	Paddy	5 *taṁliṅ*.
Paddy field A/11-12.	Capital of the oblation of the god (*teṁ satra vraḥ*)	Paddy	4 *taṁliṅ*.
Paddy field A/13-14.	*ghṛita*	Paddy	5 *taṁliṅ* of silver.
Paddy field A/15-17.	The quantity needed for the oblation of the god and given to the *khloñge*	Paddy	1 *taṁliṅ* of silver.
Paddy field B/5-6.	41 (measure) of paddy and 1 *yau* of double cloth.	......	......

Paddy field B/7-8.	......	Paddy	4 *taṁliṅ* of silver, 1 *yau* of double cloth
Paddy field B/8-10.	100 (measures) and 7 *tloṅ* of paddy, 1 *yau* of double cloth, 1 *yau* of *aṁval*, 2 *je* of *sandak*.	......	......
Paddy field B/11-12.	......	80 (measures) of paddy, 3 *yau* of *aṁval*, 11 *yau* of double cloth, 1 bull.	......
Low land (*karom*) B/10-11.	......	3 *yau* of *aṁval*	......
Paddy field B/12-13.	......	15 *tloṅ* (of paddy) 2 *yau* of the double cloth.	......
Paddy field B/13-15.	......	1 *yau* of the double cloth, 11 *tloṅ* of paddy.	......
Paddy field	......	80 (measure) and 13 *tloṅ* of paddy, X *yau* of the double cloth.	......
Paddy field C/1-4.	Capital for the oblation of Svyambhū.	Paddy	12 *taṁliṅ* of silver, 1 *yau* of cloth.

MISCELLANEA

1

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERMS KAPARDAKA-PURĀṆA AND KAPARDAKA-VOḌI

In inscriptions of the Early Mediaeval Period we come across the two important numismatic terms Kapardaka-purāṇa[1] and Kapardaka-voḍi.[2] It is well known that the terms purāṇa and voḍi are the coin denomination often used in the Early Mediaeval times.[3] These terms preceded by kapardaka have attracted the attention of the scholars.

N. K. Bhattasali[4] equated Kapardaka-purāṇa with the Karshāpaṇa assuming that the term denotes a Purāṇa equal to one Kapardaka, i. e., a cowrie in value. In the opinion of D. R. Bhandarkar[5] it was a gold piece coined in the shape of cowrie. He supported his hypothesis by citing the parallel Egyptian and Chinese metallic representations of cowries and appealing also to the analogy of the rūpya coins of Olbia. The Greek city of Olbia was situated on the north shore of the Black Sea. The tunny fish found around the region formed the stable commodity of their communities. But later when the art of coinage was introduced into this city then they minted fish shaped bronze coins bearing two Greek letters supposed to be an abbreviation of the Greek word for the 'tunny' fish, came to be used as currency. We may also note the evidence of South Africa where the local Bantu name for iron is tsimbi, which first referred to cowries, then to cowrie currency and when iron replaced the cowrie as currency it retained cowrie name tsimbi for currency.[6] But, as S. K. Chakravortty has

1. Naihati grant of Ballala Sena, *EI*, XIV, p. 161, line 46; Tarpandighi plates of Lakshamaṇa Sena, *EI*, XII, p. 9, line 37-38; Madhainagara copper plates of Lakshamaṇa Sena, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 112, line 43.
2. Sheragarh Somanatha Temple Inscription, *EI*, XXIII, p. 140, line 6.
3. *Vide*, 'Cowrie as a Monetary Token in Ancient India,' *JNSI*, XXVIII, Pt. II, pp. 127 ff.
4. *VSPP*, 1939 B. S., p. 49.
5. *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 139, 76-77.
6. *Samab*, Vol. 5, number 16, p. 412; cf. *NADA*, vol. 30, p. 46.

stated[1], this analogy does not provide a satisfactory explanation to Kapardaka-purāṇa. Cowrie has never been the name of any coin or used for coins.[2] In India when metal currency was used the name cowrie or its synonyms were not used as the name of coin. Cowrie denoted only money which persists till now, it is clear by the use of cowrie in language also.[3] Chakravortty suggests[4] that the real significance of Kapardaka-purāṇa seems to be that the silver coin Purāṇa was the standard coin of the realm but not being in general use, it was equalled to and paid for in cowries. In the same way Kapardaka-voḍi was also a term to denote that Voḍi was a coin denomination which has been equated with the copper Kākiṇī,[5] equalled to and paid for in cowries as suggested by some scholars.[6]

The terms in discussion are important for the numismatic studies as there is no any parallel of such type. These novel terms used by the Early Mediaeval kings also throw light on the economic condition of the period, hitherto unnoticed by the scholars. It seems that the scanty amounts of the coin metals in the royal treasury necessitated the use of cowries in abundance as money. The frequent use of cowries in the Early Mediaeval period is well attested by archaeological finds, literature and inscriptions.[7] The conclusion put forth here regarding the poor condition of royal treasury is also attested by the political condition of the Early Mediaeval period as we see there were many small kingdoms. The poor economic condition is well attested because of so many reasons At this time barter system was in vogue. The cowrie, a monetary token of the lowest value came to be used for many transactions as the royal treasury was lacking the precious metals.

Deenabandhu Pandeya

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1. *IHQ*, VIII, pp. 596-97.
2. V. V. Mirashi is of opinion that Kaparda or Dyutakaparda were copper coins (*CII*, IV, Pt. I, p. clxxxix; *JNSI*, III, Pt. I, pp. 38-39) and S.C. Ray opines that Varāṭaka (cowrie shell ?) was a general name for coin (*JNSI*, XIV, Pt. I, p. 125).
3. *Vide*, *JNSI*, XXVIII, Pt. II, pp. 127ff.
4. *IHQ*, op. cit.
5. A. Cunningham, *JDL*, XXX, 1938, p. 50; V. S. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XVIII, pp. 196ff.
6. *JNSI*, XX, p. 39.
7. *Vide*, *JNSI*, XXVIII, Pt. II, pp. 127ff.

2

A UNIQUE COPPER PUNCH-MARKED COIN FROM PAUNI*

[Pl. IV]

I owe the copper punch-marked coin published hereunder to Shri Kawle Babu who got it from Shri Harichandra Wārku Urkudakar who had found it while ploughing a field at Pauni (District Bhaṇḍārā), and knowing my interest in archaeology kindly placed it at my disposal for study and publication.

The description of the coin is as follows :—

Metal—Copper	Wt.—123 grains
Size —1.89 cm. x 1.87 cm.	Thickness—Max. .25
	Mini. .15

Obverse—In the centre an elephant with upraised trunk and an umbrella on its back to right, eight-spoked wheel, triangle—headed standard with its lower part flanked by two taurines, thick-leaved tree[1], *svastika*, an animal (possibly a dog or a hare).

Reverse—Blank.

(Pl. IV. 2)

Several hoards of silver punch-marked coins have been reported from Vidarbha,[2] but only two copper punch-marked coins have so far been found during excavations from Kauṇḍinyapur (District Amrāoti).[3] Both the coins bear a variety of Ujjainī symbol, a thick-leaved tree and a ribbon of *svastikas* and taurines, the reverse being blank.

The silver punch-marked coins from Vidarbha generally bear a group of five symbols on the obverse and two on the reverse and resemble Class 2, Group 11, Variety C of Allan, Class 38 A of Durgaprasad and Period V, A.1 of P. L. Gupta.[4] Only one

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* I am grateful to Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri for guiding me in the Preparation of this paper.

1. [This symbol lacks its proper identification. *N.A.*]

2. B C. Jain, *Inventory of the Hoards and Finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh, Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 5, pp. 2-4.

3. M. G. Dixit, *Excavations at Kauṇḍinyapura*, pp. 135-136.

4. *BMC, AI, Intro*. p. 56 ; *JASB (N. S.)*, 1934, pl. 16. 21 ; *Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum Series*, I, pp. 94-95.

of the 65 silver punch-marked coins contained in a hoard found at Bhandara, gave a new variety. It bears on its obverse, an owl, *Shaḍarachakra*, three peaked hill surmounted by a cresent, an eight—spoked wheel and four fishes in a tank (?).[1]

Our coin is unique as it bears six symbols including an elephant with an umberella on it back, a symbol not noticed so far on any other punch-marked coin known to me.

As far the remaining symbols, triangle—headed standared and thick—leaved tree are quite familiar on punch-marked coins from Vidarbha. However, the eight-spoked wheel is found only on the silver punch-marked coin from Bhaṇḍārā mentioned above. It may be noted that our coin also comes from the Bhaṇḍārā District. It is also noteworthy that *svastika* is more deeply punched and is in higher relief than other symbols.

It may be mentioned that the findspot of the present coin Pauni is a place of great antiquarian interest. It has yielded important Bhāra,[2] Kshatrapa[3] and Vākāṭaka[4] inscriptions. Excavations at the site, conducted for two seasons jointly by the Archaeological Survey of India and the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Nagpur University have revealed the existence of two great *stūpas* dating back to Maurya-Sātavāhana period.[5]

—*Chandrashekhar Gupta*

3

SO-CALLED UNINSCRIBED COPPER CAST COINS OF AYODHYA

These coins are divided by Allan into three types:

Type I[6]

Obv. : Flower.

Rev. : Plain.

W.: 23.0 grs.

S.: 0.7″.

1. *JNSI*, X p. 75, pl. IV B 1.
2. *EI*, XXIV, pp. 11 ff.
3. *Ibid*, XXXVII, pp. 201-210.
4. *Nagpur University Journal*, Vol. XVIII, nos. 1 & 2, pp 73-77.
5. Excavation report is yet to be published.
6. *BMC, AI*, p. 129, no. 1.

Type II[1]

Obv. : Svastika.

Rev. : .

W. : 34.0 grs.
S. : 0.5″.

Type III[2]

Obv. : Svastika over fish.

Rev. : .

W. : 26.8 ; 30.0 ; 31.8 ; 33.9 ; 36.0 (2 coins) ; 38.0 grs.
S. : 0.5″ (5 coins); 0.6″ (2 coins).

Only one specimen occurs in type I and that has a well made rayed border.[3] Such form of border is not found on the uninscribed cast coins. In fabric, too, this piece differs from the coins of the rest two types. Therefore, Allan rightly observes that it 'may not be a coin at all, but an ornament.'[4] The reverse design ( ) of the second type is also represented on the silver punch-marked[5] coins, uninscribed copper cast[6] coins of Kausambi[7] and Taxila.[8] Seven coins are known in type III.[9] Among them two are picked up by Cunningham[10] and two by Col. Rivett-carnac[11] and each of the rest three is collected by Eden,[12] Lillie[13] and Rodgers.[14] We are not aware about the find spots of the coins found by Eden and Lillie but we are told that the coin obtained by Rodgers comes from Shah ki Deri. Again, the reverse symbol of this type also occurs

1. *Ibid*, no. 2.
2. *Ibid*, nos. 3-7 ; *IMC*, p. 149, nos. 12-13.
3. *Ibid*, pl. xvi. 6.
4. *Ibid*, p. lxxxvii.
5. *Ibid*, pp. 41, 48.
6. *Ibid*, pp. 86-87.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 148-49.
8. *Ibid*, p. 236.
9. Five coins are catalogued in *BMC, AI*, p. 129 and the rest two are listed in *IMC*, I, p. 149.
10. *BMC, AI*, p. 129. nos. 4 and 7.
11. *JASB*, XLIX, part 1 (1880), p. 139, pl. XVII. 15 A, B.
12. *BMC, AI*, p. 129, no. 6.
13. *Ibid*, no. 5.
14. *Ibid*, no. 3.

on the certain coins of Taxila.[1] Hence the coins of types II and III seem to have been the currency of the wider area. Possibly they were issued in the time of the Mauryan administration.

Nisar Ahmad

4

THE LOCATION OF THE MINT OF SOME INDO-PARTHIAN COINS

The subject of this paper is a class of coins of Gondophares, some of which are struck in copper and some in billon (?).[2] The obverse of these pieces display a male figure sitting on a highbacked throne and facing left. His left hand is placed on the lap, while his upraised right hand is trying to hold some object. The left foot is shown as inclined backward, while the right foot is placed in a comparatively forward position. He wears a diademed fillet. Winged Nike, wearing a loose drapery, appears on the reverse. She stands to right and holds a wreath, from which a fillet hangs downwards. A legend in the Greek script appears on the obverse and it continues on the reverse. The complete legend can be read as *Basileos Basi* (on the obverse) *leon Megalou Yndophe(r)ou* (on the reverse). Some symbols and stray letters (mint-marks ?) may be noticed on the both sides of the coins.[3]

The king concerned is apparently the same as the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares I, who flourished in the first half of the 1st century A. D.[4] So the coins in question should be dated to the same period.

It is interesting to note that Kharoshṭhī inscription, which regularly appears on coins of the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands including Arachosia (in South-Eastern Afghanistan) during the relevant period,[5] are absent from the pieces under review. This suggests that the mint or mints of these coins was or were not in India or Arachosia. The only other region which is known to have been under Gondophares I and at

1. *Ibid*, pp. 214-15.
2. A coin of this class was wrongly described by P. Gardner as of base silver (P. Gardner, *BMC, Greeks & Scythic Kings*, p. 104 and pl. XXIII, no. 10). This is actually a copper (or billon ?) piece.
3. P. Gardner, *loc. cit ; NC*, 1890, pl. XIII, no. 10.
4. B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source--A Study in Indo-Parthian History*, pp. 183 f.
5. P. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 f.

the same time was away from the Indian borderlands, was Sakastan or Seistan.[1]

Tate collected a great number of coins of Gondophares I in Seistan.[2] We have shown elsewhere that the coins of Gondophares I displaying a bust on the obverse and the enthroned king, holding a low and being crowned by a female (Tyche or Nike), and only the Greek legend on the reverse, were struck in Seistan.[3] The obverse and reverse types of these pieces perhaps betray influence of the Imperial Parthian coinage.[4]

The coins under review carry, like the species of Gondophares I referred to in the preceding paragraph, only Greek legend. The obverse and reverse devices of the pieces concerned also betray, when considered together, influence of the Imperial Parthian coins portraying an enthroned king as receiving a diademed fillet or wreath from Tyche.[5] The inscription, which runs from the obverse to the reverse, also probably indicates that both the obverse and the reverse devices are to be taken as two parts of one single coin-type.

It was only natural for the coins struck in Seistan to experience the influence of the Imperial Parthian coinage. Seistan under Gondophares I bordered the Parthian empire. The fact that many pieces of the Parthian emperor Orodes II discovered in Seistan are found struck with the peculiar symbol of Gondophares I[6] suggests these were in circulation in Seistan during or rather prior to the period of rule of Gondophares I in that area.

These considerations tend to locate the mint or mints of the coins in question in Seistan. They constitute an additional evidence of the rule of Gondophares I in Sakastan or Seistan.

B. N. Mukherjee

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1. B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 f.
2. *JRAS, IGB*, 1903, pp. 676-677.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 101 and 104.
4. See W. Worth, *BMC, Parthia*, pl. XXV, no. 7 ; pl. XXVI, nos. 3 and 4 ; etc.
5. *Ibid*, pl. XXVI, nos. 12 and 13 ; pl. XXVIII, nos. 13, 14 ; etc.
6. *JRAS, IGB*, 1903, pp. 676 f.

5

AN INTERESTING CAST COPPER COIN FROM VIDARBHA

[Pl. IV]

Excavations and explorations at numerous ancient sites in northern India have brought to light a large number of uninscribed cast copper coins. As to the area of their circulation, John Allan, basing on the evidence available about three and a half decades ago, concluded that the United Provinces, Rajaputana and the Central Provinces were the limits within which they were found.[1] Till recently not a single specimen of this class was reported from any southern site.[2] Recent excavations at some ancient sites in the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra have brought to light a few uninscribed cast copper coins[3] and have thereby added to our knowledge about the southern limit of their circulation. It can now be averred with sufficient justification that these coins circulated in Vidarbha also. Recently a cast coin of a variety not known so far from anywhere in Vidarba has come to my notice and is being published here.

The coin under study was acquired by Shri Vasantrao Moon of the Government Polytechnique, Bombay, from some person at Nagpur.[4] Nothing more is known about its provenance. My attention to it has been drawn by my research student Shri Chandrashekhar Gupta. My thanks are due to both of them.

It is an uninscribed cast copper coin and may be described as followed :—

Metal : copper ; Shape : square ; Size : 1.33 cms. x 1.31 cms. ; Weight : 3 gms.

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1. *BMC, AI*, p. lxxvii.
2. Not a single uninscribed cast copper coin from Vidarbha was noted by B. C. Jain in his *Inventory of the Hoards and Finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh* (NNN, No. 5) published in 1957. The few cast coins noted by him came from Tripurī and Jamunia (vide *ibid.*, pp. 4-5).
3. These come from Kaundinyapura (Amraoti District) and Pauni (Bhandara District). While the former have been studied by V. P. Rode in the excavation report, the Pauni coins are being studied by me and a paper on them will be published in a future issue of this journal.
4. Shri Moon was posted at Nagpur when he acquired this coin.

Obverse : Elephant with hanging trunk walking to left ; before it Taurine (*nandipada*) with its two arms turned below ; below Taurine, *Svastika* ; under the elephant, a horizontally laid Triangle-headed Standard (*Indrayashṭi*).

Reverse : Three-peaked Hill surmounted by a Crescent and under it Hollow Cross on proper right ; Tree-in-Railing on proper left ; Taurine placed sidewise with its arms turned to proper left between the Crescented Three-Peaked Hill and the leaves of Tree-in-Railing.

(Pl. IV. 3)

This coin corresponds to Allan's Variety *k* of uninscribed copper coins[1] with the only difference that the triangle of the triangle-headed standard on the present coin is solid or filled in whereas that on Allan's coins is hollow. Thus belonging to a known variety with only a slight difference in the formation of one of its devices, the coin is of no great interest from typological point of view. What invests this coin with significance is its provenance. Cast coins of this type have been reported from a large number of ancient sites in North India, the southernmost known point of its discovery being Jamunia in the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh[2] Though we have no definite information about the exact findspot of this coin, there can be no doubt whatsoever that it must have come from some place in Vidarbha. The discovery of the present coin, therefore, shows that cast coins of this variety were prevalent as far south as Vidarbha It is interesting to note in this connection that though several ancient sites in Maharashtra and further south have been subjected to extensive excavations, no coin of this variety has been reported

There has been some difference of opinion about the age of the coins of this variety. Ramaprasad Chanda assigned two coins of this type found in the Sarnath excavations to the Śuṅga period.[3]

1. *BMC, AI*, pp. 89ff. and Pls. XI. 11-15.
2 One coin of this type was found at Jamunia and published by S. L. Katare in *JNSI*, XIV, p. 58, Pl. II.6. For other coins of this variety from North India see Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 60, Pl. I.28 ; *ASI, AR*, 1913-14 ; D. C. Sircar (ed.), *Early Indigenous Indian Coins*, (Calcutta 1970), p. 123, etc.
3. *ASI, AR*, 1927-28, p. 96.

Babu Durga Prasad on the other hand, points out that exactly similar coins have been found in the Mauryan levels at Bulandibagh and lays stress on the crescented three-peaked hill and hollow cross which are noticed on certain objects decidedly belonging to the Maurya period to which he consequently assigns these coins.[1] Allan also observes that uninscribed cast copper coins are usually found at the sites which yield punch-marked silver coins and are probably of the same period.[2] The latter view appears more probable[3].

Ajay Mitra Shastri

6

ON SEALINGS ATTRIBUTED TO AYODHYA

Tripathi describes a sealing of Vijayamitra, in an earlier issue of this *journal*, as follows[4] :

Bull standing to left before a standard and legend (*Vi*)*jaya-mitrasya* above in characters of about 1st or 2nd century A. D.

Tripathi missed to identify a taurine symbol before the mouth of the bull.

He writes: "The present sealing contains the same device as found on the coins mentioned above. But there is a variation in the legend of the two. The legend on the coins reads *Vijaya-mitasa* while that on the sealing as *Vijayamitrasya*"[5]. Thaplyal suggests that "atleast on the coin illustrated on pl. XVII, 22, of *BMC, AI*, is *Vijayamitras*(*y*)*a*"[6]. But I do not know, how he made this observation on the said coin as on it the last easily readable letter, is *ya* of Vijaya. However, it can be pointed out that another coin of the Haṁsa or Peacock type of Vijayamitra has the legend as *Vijayamitrasya*[7] and it is wrongly read as *Vijayamitasa* by Allan[8]. It

1. *JASB, Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLVII (1937), p. 63.
2. *BMC, AI*, pp. lxxiv, lxxvii. P. L. Gupta also thinks that these coins were in circulation from the third century B.C. to the third century A. D., but that their manufacture most likely ceased sometime in the first century B. C. Vide his *Coins*, p. 18.
3. I thank Shri S. K. Pande of the Deptt. of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University, for the illustrations accompanying this note.
4. *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 207-8.
5. Ibid, p. 208.
6. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 70, fn. 3.
7. *BMC, AI*, p. XVIII, No. 2 (obv.).
8. Ibid, p. 139.

is also to be noted that the standard( )represented on this sealing is similar to that occurs on the coins of this type of Vijayamitra[1]. Hence this Vijayamitra can be identified with Vijayamitra of the Haṁsa or Peacock type coins.[2]

Thaplyal publishes the following sealings in one of the earlier volumes of this *journal*[3] :—

1. Bull standing l.; triśula infront; below taurine symbol in a *U*-shaped design; above *Vijayamitrasya.*[4]

2. Bull standing l.; trident-battle axe within railing infront; above *Bhavasenaputrasya* and below *Vishṇumitrasya.*[5]

3. Bull standing l.; trident-battle axe infront; behind *Yupa* within railing; above *V(i)jayamitra-putrasya*; below *Śivamitrasya.*[6]

4. Bull standing l.; trident infront; above *Phalgunimitrasya.*[7]

5. Standing female figure; clockwise *Vishṇumitra pu(trasya)*, anticlockwise *Sa(ṁ)ghamit(r)as(y)a*[8].

6. *Triratna* on railing-type pedestal with a standard like symbol on either side; below *Pushyamitrasya.*[9]

These sealings are dated to the first-second century A. D. on the palæographical ground and ascribed to the ruling family of Ayodhya because of the reasons that two kings Vijayamitra and Saṁghamitra are known from the coins of this locality and devices occurring on these sealings are similar to those depicted on the coins of Ayodhya.

Thaplyal writes that Saṁghamitra, son of Vishṇumitra, may be identified 'with the homonymous ruler and son of Bhavasena'. He also takes Saṁghamitras of the sealing and the Ayodhya coin as the same person. Similarly, Vijayamitra, the father of Śiva-

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1. *BMC, AI*, pl. XVIII, nos. 1 and 2.
2. The Mitras of Ayodhya can be divided into two groups. Early and later. The later Mitras appear to have ruled after the Kushāṇas. I feel that the legend, on some of the coins of these Mitras, is Sanskritized.
3. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 68-73.
4. Ibid, p. 69, no. 3.
5. Ibid, pp. 68-69, no. 1.
6. Ibid, no. 4.
7. Ibid, no. 5.
8. Ibid, no. 2.
9. Ibid, p. 72, no. 1.

mitra, of the sealing is identified by him with homonymous ruler of the coins of this locality.[1]

The symbol shown infront of the bull on the sealing no. 1 is identified by Thaplyal as 'a standard or a *triśula*'. But this symbol cannot be taken as *triśula* because its right prong is absent here.[2] It is a standard drawn as . This sealing is similar to that of Vijayamitra published by Tripathi. Hence this sealing, too, can be ascribed to Vijayamitra of Ayodhya.

The sealing nos. 2 and 3 have bull standing to left and certainly this device commonly occurs on the obverse of the Ayodhya coins but the standard, trident-battle axe within railing, shown infront of the bull on these sealings is completely absent on the intire series' of the Ayodhyan currencies. Hence these sealings cannot be assigned to this locality.

The sealing no. 4 also has bull standing to left. The symbol represented before this animal is identified by Thaplyal as trident but undoubtedly it as a standard[3] represented as . It resembles to that depicted on the coins of the Mitras of Ayodhya. Therefore this sealing can be attributed to this family.

The sealing no. 5 bears a 'standing female figure'. Thaplyal himself admits: "The sealing of Saṁghamitra has a standing female figure, which is quite different from the device that occurs on the coins of the homonymous ruler of the same series. The latter bear the bull symbol which is quite common on the coins of Ayodhya rulers".[4] But only on the basis that "the standing female figure is found on the coins of certain other rulers of Ayodhya"[5], he assigned it to Saṁghamitra of Ayodhya. However, it may also be noted that the standing female figure does not occur on any of the specimens of the Mitras of this region. Here its last occurrence is noticed on the coins of Dhanadeva. We know that this king ruled in the middle of the first century B. C.[6] and Saṁghamitra

1. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 70.
2. Ibid, p. 69.
3. Ibid, pl. XII, no. 3.
4. Ibid, pl. XII, no. 5.
5. Ibid, p. 70.
6. Ibid.

flourished not earlier than the middle of the first century A. D.[1] Therefore, the attribution of this sealing to Saṁghamitra of the coins only on the basis of the occurrence of the standing female figure on the coins issued nearly a century before is highly unwarranted. This sealing can also not be ascribed to this locality since no relic of the Mitras of this place contain this device.

The sealing no. 6 has *triratna* on a framework and we know that this device occurs on the coins of two Mitra kings, Saṁghamitra[2] and Vijayamitra[3], of Ayodhya. Hence it may be ascribed to this locality.

Thus only three sealings, no 1, 4 and 6, of those published by Thaplyal can be attributed to the ruling families of the Mitras of Ayodhya. Here it can also be recorded that the sealing nos. 4 and 6 add two more names, Phalgunimitra, and Pushyamitra, in the Mitra ruling families of this place.

Nisar Ahmad

7

THREE MORE KSHATRAPA COINS FROM VIDARBHA [Pl. V]

Recently Mr. I. M. Khan of Basim (Akola District of Vidardha) sent me three coins found at Basim. Readers of this *Journal* will remember that I have published one of his coins before[5]. Basim (ancient Vatsagulma) was the capital of a junior branch of the Vākāṭaka family. It is noteworthy that several coins of the Kshatrapas who for some time flourished contemporaneously with the Vākāṭakas have been found in Vidarbha. I have discussed the problem raised by the finds of their coins elsewhere.

I. A Coin of Mahakshatrapa Rudrasena II

Findspot: Bāsim; Weight: 2½ gm.; Size: 1.42 cm.

Obv.—Bust of King to right; with marks of punching on the head; no symbols of date seen behind the ear.

Rev.—A three-arched hill, with the crescent on the top and a wavy line below. The legend along the edge—

1. *A Comprehensive History of India*, (Ed.), p. 105.
2. Scholars suggest that the Mitras of Ayodhya started their rule from the closing decades of the 2nd century A. D. (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 174 ; *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 106), but I feel that Saṁghamitra ruled in the earlier decades of the second half of the first century A. D.
3. *BMC, AI*, pl. XVII, no. 21.
4. Ibid, pl. XVII, nos. 3-4.
5. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 92 f.

Rajñaḥ Kshatrapasa [Viradamaputrasa Rajño Mahakshatrapasa] Rudrasenasa. The letter *na* in Rudrasenasa is shown by a vertical stroke with an angular base.

(Pl. V. 1)

I have published another coin of this king found at Kuṇḍinapura, (Amraoti District[1].

II. A Coin of Kshatrapa Rudrasiṁha II

Findspot: Bāsim; Weight: 2½ gm.; Size: 1.48 cm.

Obv.—Bust of King to left, with marks of punching on the head; no symbols of date clearly visible behind the ear.

Rev.—Three-arched hill, with a wavy line below. The legend along the edge—*Svami-Jivadamaputrasa [Rajña Kshatrapasa] Rudrasahasa.* The letter *ha* is shown with a very slight curve at the end of a vertical. The name therefore is probably *Rudrasiṁha*, not *Rudrasena*. **(Pl V. 2)**[2].

I have already published another coin of this king found at Kuṇḍinapura.[3] He belongs to the period when the Kshatrapas were obliged to assume the lower title Kshatrapa.

III. A Coin of Kshatrapa Yaśodāman II

Findspot: Bāsim; Weight: 2 gm.; Diameter: 1.41 cm.

Obv.—Bust of King to right, with punch-marks. Lower parts of symbols visible behind the ear. The first of these is, of course, of 200, but the following two are illegible.

Rev.—Three-arched hill with a wavy line below; stars on the top on the right and a crescent on the left. The legend along the edge—*Rajña Kshatrapasa Rudrasahaputrasa Rajña Kshatrapasa Yaśadamna.* In the name *Rudrasiṁha*, the letter *ha* is shown by a vertical with a very slight bent to the right at the lower end. So the name is probably *Rudrasiṁha*, not *Rudrasena.*

(Pl. V. 3)

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1. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 337.
2. See the discussion in *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 92 f.
3. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 338.

This is the first time that a coin of this Kshatrapa is coming to light in Vidarbha. Some coins of later kings have, of course, been found in Vidarbha.[1]

V. V. Mirashi

8

A NOTE ON THE HOARDS OF EARLY INDIAN COINS

Our attention has been drawn to a note published by R. C. Majumdar in an earlier volume of this *journal*[2] in which the author comments on the following beliefs—(1) that the coin hoards 'were consequences of foreign invasions which caused their owners to conceal them as a measure of security', and (2) that 'the larger the number of coins belonging to a particular king [in a hoard] hiding one's weather under the earth, the nearer was he to the time of the hoard'. As regards the reason behind we agree with Majumdar when he says, 'General insecurity from thieves and robbers must be presumed to be the chief reason in most cases'; but his main arguments appear to be dubious. Thus he says, "As a large majority of hoards, so far discovered, contained a number of coins small enough to be easily carried by a person [while going abroad], it may be assumed that hoarding, as a rule, need not be looked upon as merely due to fear of foreign invasion." It, however, seems to us that the ordinary traveller of ancient and medieval India was afraid to carry with him even 10 gold coins or 20 silver coins or 50 copper coins for fear of losing his life on the road which was infested with danger.

Again, Majumdar says, "It may be argued that big hoards, like that at Bayana containing 1821 coins, could not be easily carried away, and therefore must have been left in a panic when the owner fled for safety against a foreign attack. But there is no valid reason for this conclusion. There is a long interval of more than 130 years between the issue of the oldest and latest coins of the hoard. It may be easily presumed, therefore, that the collection extended over several generations." It is, however, not possible to agree with this conclusion because there is evidence that in ancient and medieval India, coins once in the market remained in circulation for centuries. This explains facts like the following one noticed by Majumdar: "Of the 1821 coins of this

1. See *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 95.
2. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 128-38.

[Bayana] hoard, 983 belong to Chandragupta II and only 628 to the next reign. In other words, the large majority of coins belong to a king who must have ceased to reign more than half a century before the coins were hoarded." Since the coins issued by Skandagupta's predecessors were in circulation during his reign, there is no reason to conclude that several generations were responsible for the accummulation of the Bayana hoard. But we agree with Majumdar's conclusion that "the disparity in the number of coins belonging to Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I cannot be put down to such assumptions as are generally made, namely, either the longevity of the reign or the proximity of the reign to the time of hoarding."

D. C. Sircar

9

A RARE GUPTA COIN FROM SANCHI

[PL. V.]

Recently the collection of Sri Pardeshi of Indore was examined by me and my friend Sri R.K. Sethi. We came across a rare Gupta copper coin along with several other tribal coins of Ujjayinī. The Gupta coin was very carefully studied as it indicated some novel features, not so far known in the Gupta currency. According to the owner, Sri Pardeshi, the coin was obtained by him at Sanchi. With his kind permission I bring this coin to the notice of scholars.

Metal : copper ; Shape : round ; Size : 1.7 cm × 1.45 cm ; Wt.: 58.50 grains.

Obverse : Inside an oval enclosure is written Brāhmī legend in two straight lines *Jitaṁ Bhagavatā Padmanābhena.* (i.e. 'victorious is the lord Padmanābha (Vishṇu).'

Reverse : Figure of a *kalpavṛiksha* in an ornamental form.

(Pl. V. 4)

The script on the coin is early Gupta of central India resembling the characters of the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II.

The name of any ruler, locality, etc. is conspicuous by its absence on the coin. The tribute paid to Padmanābha (Vishṇu) on the coin is indeed a novel feature in so far as the Gupta numismatics is concerned. To what actual incident this coin legend refers and by whom this coin was issued, nothing in this connection is indicated.

The only conjecture which seems to be plausible in this connection is that this coin was issued by Chandragupta II Vikramāditya after his victory over eastern Malwa. His inscriptions found at Sanchi and Udaigiri also indicate very clearly the victory of Chandragupta over the Śaka-Kshatrapas who had occupied the region of eastern Malwa soon after the death of Samudragupta.

On the present coin the name of Chandragupta or his *viruda* is not given. Being a *Paramabhāgavata,* he probably tried to avoid his own name on the coin and attributed his great victory over the formidable Śakas to Padmanābha Vishṇu.[1]

In ancient India coins are known to have been issued in the name of particular deities. Reference may be made to some of the Yaudheya, Audumbara and Kuṇinda coins[2], which were issued in the name of Kārtikeya and Śiva respectively. In the case of the Guptas, it was not so far known that they ever issued any such coins. The present coin seems to belong to this category. Chandragupta II was a devout Vaishṇava, which fact he is immensely fond of mentioning in his inscriptions and coins. He probably thought it worthwhile to issue one type of his copper coins[3] in the name of his favourite deity Vishṇu.

It may also be surmised that the coin under discussion represents a token, and not a coin. But in so far as the large Gupta coinage is concerned, no such example is known so far. Samudragupta had better claims to issue such tokens or medals, but he did not issue any. His Aśvamedha type coin cannot be called a token in its strict sense. *K.D. Bajpai*

1. [There is a case itself in the Gupta Numismatics that Chandragupta II inscribed his epithet *Vikramaḥ* on the gold coins of Chakravikram type as *Chakravikramaḥ*. The representation of *Kalpavriksha* on the reverse of this coin, which is the non-Gupta coin device, and simply the occurrence of the Vaishṇava legend make us reluctant to ascribe it to Chandragupta II. We know that seals and sealings with such religious formulas were issued in ancient times. Can all of them be connected with the royal personnels ? --*Nisar Ahmad*]
2. Allan, *BMC, AI,* pp. cxlix-cl; 270-275 ; S.K. Chakraborty, *Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics,* pp. 161-162 ; *BMC, AI,* pp. ciii; 167-168.
3. For the eastern Malwa region the Guptas are known to have issued mainly copper coins. Their silver coins known from this area are very few.

10

A SILVER COIN OF BUDHAGUPTA WITH THE NEW DATE

[PL. I]

Six silver coins of Budhagupta discovered so far. They are minted in the Madhyadeśa type of the silver coinage of the Guptas and have the date 175 of the Gupta era.[1] The present coin is seventh in number and it belongs to the same type, but has a different date which is 165 (G.E.). It is with Mr. Ram Govind Prasad of Bhabua in the Shahabad district of Bihar. This coin is published here with his kind permission.

This coin can be described as follows :

Metal : silver ; Shape : round ; Weight : 2.203 grms ; Size : 1.37 inch.

Obv. : Head of the king facing to r., date 165 before.

Rev. : Fan-tailed peacock facing l.; Circular legend : *Vijitāvaniravanipatiḥ-Śri-Budhagupto divaṁ jayati.*

(Pl. I. 3)

Ram Govind Prasad claims to have found it from Madhurayī, Shahabad district of Bihar. Here it may be recalled that out of six coins published before, five come from Banaras and the sixth is obtained from its vicinity, Sarnath.

Nisar Ahmad

11

OBVERSE DEVICE OF HORSEMAN LION SLAYER TYPE OF PRAKĀŚĀDITYA'S COINS

[Pl. I]

The obverse motif of Lion-slayer type of Prakāśāditya shows certain interesting features of Gupta hunting which have not been noticed and interpreted by the scholars. The device represents the king as a regular cavalier huntsman. The king is noticed sometimes, stooping down to reach the lion; sometimes, he is shown erect. In some cases the sword has been thrusted right into the gaping mouth of the lion[2].

1. Altekar, A.S., *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 279.
2. *IMC*, pl. XVI, 1-5; *BMC, GD*, Pl. XXII, 1-6; *BH*, pl. XXXII, 10; *CGE*, p. XV, 14-15.

The obverse of Horse-man-Lion-Slayer type of coins of Prakāśāditya reveals the following salient features (**Pl. I. 4**):—

(1) **Bow together with the sword**

In the *mṛigyā* series of the Gupta coins we get either bow and arrow[1] or the sword[2] as the weapons of hunting. The presence of both the bow and the sword with the ruler is unique in the Lion-slayer type of Prakāśāditya's coins. Though the bow together with the sword is visible in Horseman type of Kumāragupta I's coins[3], but they are not found together in the *mṛigayā* series of the Gupta coinage. The bow has been hung on the left shoulder in the *upavīta* manner[4] and not slung behind as observed by Smith[5].

(2) **Quiver**

The quiver attached with the saddle in the right side can be noticed on a few coins[6]. Similar representation of the hanging quiver from the saddle is seen in the ancient monuments of Kashmir[7].

(3) **Scabbard**

In addition to the quiver the scabbard is also shown hanging from the the waist in right side of the king Prakāśāditya[8].

(4) **Influence of Sassanian Art**

The depiction of the obverse side of the coins shows the influence of Sassanian Art. Similar theme with slight variations

1. *BMC, GD*, pls. II, 14, 15, VIII, 11, 17, IX, 1-13, XIV, 1-17, XV, 1-4, *BH*, pls. VI, 9-10, XVI, 8-15, XVII, 1-4, XVIII, 1-10, XXVII, 1-15, XXVIII, 1-15, XXIX, 1-15 ; *CGE*, pls. III, 13-14, VI, 1-15, VII, 1-10, XII, 1 13.
2. *BH*, Pl. XXX, 5-8 ; *CGE*, pl. XIII, 3-6 ; *JNSI*, Vols. XI, pl. III, 7 ; XVII, pt. II, pl. IX, 5; XXII, pl. IX, 3 ; *BMC, GD*, pl. IX, 13 ; *Lucknow Museum Catalogue, Gupta & Maukhari*, No. 88 ; *NC*, 1910, p. 406, p. XIV, 14.
3. *BMC, GD*, pl. XIII, 16-18 ; *BH*, pl. XXIV, 2-15.
4. *JNSI*, XXIII, 1961, p. 271 ; Cf. *IMC*, pl. XVI, 10 ; *BMC, GD*, pl. XXII, 1-5 ; *BH*, pl. XXXII, 10.
5. *IMC*, p. 118.
6. *BMC, GD*, pl. XXII, 2; *CGE*, pl. XV, 14.
7. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London 1933), pl. XXIII, 3.
8. *BMC, GD*, Pl. XXII, 1-6 ; *CGE*, pl. XV, 14 ; *BH*, pl. XXXII, 10.

has been represented in the Iranian Art of Sassanian period. For example, the interior of a bowl represents the king on the horse back who is chopping off the head of a lion with sword. The lion is leaping at the horse. The sheath is hanging from the waist on the right side[1] (**Pl. I. 5**). Another figure (**Pl. I. 6**) depicts the king as attacking the lion with the spear.[2]

After beholding the first three of the above mentioned features, we can have an assessment of the obverse device of Horseman-Lion-Slayer coins of Prakāśāditya The king went on hunting with great pomp and show. Unlike his Imperial predecessors, who are sometimes barebodied, he is well dressed and armed with bow and sword.

The bow was to be used by the king when the beast was at distance. But when face to face with the lion he could attack with the sword. It shows the technique of hunting as well as the skill of the king. The chasing of the animal by the horse rider has been carved in ancient Indian Sculptures.[3] Kālidāsa gives a vivid account of king Daśarath's hunting from the horse back :[4] He, wearing a dress suitable for the purpose of going to the forest[5], used to shoot the animals with bow and arrow.[6]

The obverse device of Horseman Lion-Slayer coins of Prakāśāditya marks a development in the *mṛigayā* series of the Gupta numismatics. The device is probably the best illustration of Rudradeva's statement, "all the five faculties of Kshatriya are developed, namely, the practice of archery, conduct towards equal, agility of motion, energy of body, cleverness in the management of

1. *British Museum London*, ed. by Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti, 1967, p. 68.
2. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites Hephaliks*, p, 39
3. R.C. Kak, op.cit., pl. XXIX, no. 20 shows huntsman with bow and arrow riding at full gallop ; pl. XXVII, 14 represents a mounted hunter aiming an arrow at a fleeting deer. Similar motif has been noticed on the pillars in the mandapas of the temples erected by Vijayanagar and Nayak Kings of South India. See C. Sivaramamurti, *Sanskrit Literature and Art-Mirrors of Indian Culture*, p. 82.
4. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IX. 50-60.
5. Ibid, IX. 50.
6. Ibid, IX. 56. 61.

of horses, and the knowledge of the incomparable delight when the policy succeeds''.[1]

Om Prakash Singh

12

A SHORT NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE GENEALOGICAL SEALS OF THE GUPTAS

The genealogical seals issued by the successors of Skandagupta contained an effigy of *Garuḍa,* as their royal emblem, in their upper part. The seals of Vainyagupta and Vishṇugupta are broken so seriously that this device is gone along with the broken part of the seals. Thus this bird is found partly or completely on the seals of Budhagupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta[2]. The comparative artistic study of the representation of Garuḍa shows the chronological order of these seals.

The body and wings of the Garuḍa on Budhagupta's seal are plain and have no artistic appeal but on Narasimhagupta's seals, the feathers of the body and the wing are shown by thin lined circles and this representation achieves its most artistic appearance on the seals of Kumāragupta.

The Garuḍa's legs on Narasimhagupta's seals are shown by two long wavy lines. The lower line of the Garuḍa's legs on Kumāragupta's seal is dotted. Its upper line is not wavy but goes straight for a distance and then bends downwards. The entire representation of the bird on Kumāragupta's seals is highly artistic.

The bird is shown standing on two horizontal lines. These lines of Budhagupta's seal are equal in their length. On the seals of Narasimhagupta, the lower one is longer than the upper. On the seal of Budhagupta the moon is round whereas on the seals of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta it is a crescent.

Thus it appears that of these seals the seal of Budhagupta is earlier. The seal of Kumāragupta appears to be later than the seals of Narasimhagupta.

Nisar Ahmad

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1. धनुर्वेदाभ्यासः समविधि रनूनश्चलघुता,
गतेर्गात्रोत्साहः तुरग विहृतौचातिपटुता ।
तथा नोतेर्योगे रस परिचयश्चाप्यनुपमो,
मृगव्यायां क्षात्रो, गुण समुदयोऽभ्यस्यत इव ॥
Śyainikaśāstram, VII, 29, Ed. by Harprasad Shastri.

2. *MASI*, No. 66, pl. viii; *JASB*, 1889, pt. 1, p. 84 and pl.

13

THE FIND OF A VISHṆUKUṆḌIN COIN NEAR NAGPUR

[PL. IV]

I obtained this coin from P. G. Velankar of the Training College, Nāgpur, who informed me that it was found in a large mass of scrap iron brought to Nāgpur from some neighbouring place. It has been lying with me for some time. In the meantime some stray coins of the Vishṇukuṇḍins and also a hoard of their coins have been discovered at Pavnār in the Wardhā District[1] and Nagar[2] in the Bhaṇḍārā District of Vidarbha. Still, the present coin deserves publication in view of its clear type which suggests a somewhat different interpretation of its reverse side. I describe the coin below.

Metal : alloyed copper of reddish black colour ;

Shape : round ; diameter : 1.83 cm. ; Weight : 8 grams.

Obverse : A well executed figure of a lion, facing right, mouth wide open and tail curled up, a fore paw raised, with a *ka*-like symbol in front and a partial *ya*-like symbol on the back, inside a circular border.

Reverse: A vase placed on a stand of two horizontal lines cut in the middle by a vertical one, with the figure of a *triśūla*[3] on either side, inside a rayed circle.

(Pl. IV. 1)

Such coins were previously ascribed to the Pallavas,[4] but it has now been shown that they probably belong to the Vishṇu-

1. S. B. Deo and Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavations*, p. 13; *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 164 f.
2. I did not find this village in the *List of Villages* published by the Mahārāshṭra Government. Perhaps it is identical with the village Nangapura in the Gondiā Tahsil of the Bhaṇḍārā District. This coin, which closely resembles the coin described here, was attributed to the Pallavas, but it is probably of the Vishṇukuṇḍins as the Pallavas are not known to have extended their sway to Vidarbha.
3. This is usually taken as a lamp-post, but the three pronged top cut by the circular border at the sides shows that the symbol represents a *triśūla*. The Vishṇukuṇḍins were worshippers of Śrīparvata-svāmin (Śiva) and had a lion as their *lānchhana*.
4. See the reference in *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 241, notes 2 to 4.

kuṇḍins. Some of them have been discovered at Nevāsā in Western Maharashtra[5]. I am glad to find that these finds of Vishṇukuṇḍin coins in Vidarbha and Western Mahārāshṭra have remarkably corroborated the theory first propounded by me that the Vishṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I conquered Dakshiṇa Kośala, Vidarbha and Mahārāshṭra.[6] As suggested in the story of Viśruta in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracharita*, he may have espouzed the cause of the last known Vākāṭaka king Harisheṇa's son, when the latter was attacked and killed by the ruler of Vanavāsī (North Kanara), helped by the rebellious feudatories of Vidarbha.[7] Mādhavavarman may have placed Harisheṇa's grandson on the throne of Vidarbha for some time after driving out the enemies, but later, he seems to have occupied the country himself.[8] He then extended his sway to Western Mahārāshṭra as shown by his copper-plate grant found at Khānāpur in the Sātārā District of Western Maharashtra[9] and the description of his grandson as *Trikūṭa-Malaya-ādhipati*.[10] There is, of course, a mountain named Trikūṭa in the eastern part of the Deccan also, but the mention of Trikūṭa with Malaya in the afore-cited expression points to its location in Western Maharashtra. The mountain Trikūṭa situated west of Nāsik is well known. It is mentioned by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, and the *Trikūṭa-vishaya* named after it has been noticed in a copper-plate grant found at Anjaneri near Nāsik.[11] The discovery of a hoard of Vishṇukuṇḍin coins at Paunār[12] and that of stray coins in the excavations at Nevāsā[13] corroborate the reconstruction of the history of Vidarbha and Western Maharashtra stated above.[14]

V. V. Mirashi

5. Sankalia, *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa*, pp. 199 f.
6. See my articles reprinted in the *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 193 f. and pp. 241 f.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 182 f.
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 312 f.
10. *Ibid.* XVII, p. 338.
11. *CII*, IV, p. 151.
12. *Paunar Excavations*, pp. 15 f.
13. Sankalia, *From Histary to Pre-History at Nevasa*, pp. 199 f.
14. D. C. Sircar's remark (*HCIP*, IV, p. 210, n.) that 'Mādhavavarman of the Khānāpur plates can hardly be regarded as belonging to the Vishṇukuṇḍin family's is thus disproved by the discovery of Vishṇukuṇḍin coins in Western Mahārāshṭra.

14

DATE OF ĀSALADEVA

C. R. Singhal has published a paper in *JNSI*, Vol.XXVII, pages 192-194, about the coins of Āsaladeva of Jajapella dynasty of Narwar found from the Jhansi District. He has also observed that the reign of Āsaladeva was of a long duration covering more than 45 years. He, on the basis of the data collected by him, criticised the views of Cunninghum about the dates of the kings of the said dynasty. But I think the views expressed in the said paper require to be reviewed in the light of the available epigraphic and other evidences.

The earliest known date of Āsaladeva is V. E. 1312, which is based on numismatic evidence.[1] The Bhimpur Inscription of V. E. 1319, specifically mentions that he was ruling at that time.[2] His son Gopāla from his queen Lāvaṇyadevī came to the throne before V. E. 1336, which is the date of his earliest known inscription found at Baraudi, Shivapuri District.[3] Gopāla's reign extended till V. E. 1345 as numerous inscriptions of this period have been published. He came in conflict with the Chandella king Vīravarman and a furious battle was fought on the bank of the river Balua, Shivapuri District, wherein Malaya,[4] the *Senāpati* of Kīrtivarman,[5] was defeated.[6] This event is also found recorded in Kīrtivarman's[7] Dahi plate wherein Gopāla of Narwar is found mentioned as a hostile king.[8] Gopāla's son and successor Gaṇapatideva came to the throne before V. E. 1348. He was the first

1. Smith, *CIM*, pp. 90-93.
2. त्वयावधूतभूपाल, गोरक्षेणारियोषिताम् ।
   लोचनेषु नृपासल्ल वक्त्रे लक्ष्मीर्निरञ्जेना ॥१३॥
   अस्य प्रतापकनकैरमलैर्यशोभिर्मुक्ताफलैरखिलभूषणविभ्रमायाम् ।
   पादोनलक्षविषयक्षितिपक्ष्मनाक्ष्यामास्ते पुरं नलपुरं तिलकायमानम् ॥
   (Bhimpur Inscription).
3. *EI*, XXXIII, p. 31.
4. [The correct spelling of the name as found in epigraphic records is Mallaya-*A.M.S.*]
5. [Mallaya was a general of the Chandella king Vīravarman, and not of Kīrtivarman-*A.M.S.*]
6. *Ibid*, XXXI, pp. 325-27.
7. [Actually Vīravarman's-*A.M.S.*]
8. *Ibid.*, p. 327; *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 60.

Jajapella[1] king of Narwar who is said to have acquired Kīrtidurga[2] (l. e. Deogarh near Lalitpur, Jhansi District). His inscriptions are available upto V. E. 1357. As such the reign of Āsaladeva can not possibly be extendsd till V. E. 1365. The dates of the kings of this dynasty are as below:—

Chāhada	V.E. 1290 to 1311
Nṛivarman	V.E. 1311
Āsaladeva	V.E. 1312 to 1335
Gopāla	V.E. 1336 to 1345
Gaṇapati Deva	V E. 1348 to 1357

Nearly 20 coins of the said hoard are available in the Office of the Director, Archæology and Museums, Rajasthan, Jaipur. A careful study of these coins reveals the fact that all of them can not be assigned to Āsaladeva. I, therefore, suggest that the names of the kings together with their dates recorded on the coins should be rechecked carefully.

Ram Vallabh Somani

15

HITHERTO UNKNOWN COINS OF COOCH BEHAR OF VĪRANĀRĀYAṆA AND MAHĪNDRANĀRĀYAṆA

[Pls. V-VI]

No coins of King Vīarnārāyaṇa are recorded although there was a tradition of striking coins by the rulers of Cooch Behar at the time of their installation. Recently two full *ṭaṅkās* and one half *ṭaṅkā* coins of King Vīranārāyaṇa came into our collection. The silver full coins may be described as follows:—

Coin No. 1. (a) & (b)

Obverse: Within double circle with dots in between, four-line legend in Sanskrit language in Bengali script showing strong Tirhuti or Maithilī influence:

(1) *Śrī Śrī ma*
(2) *dvīranārāya*
(3) *ṇasya Śake*
(4) *1548*
117

1. The Budhera Inscription of V. E. 1351 (*EI*, XXXIII, p. 164) specifically mentions the victory over *Kirtidurga.*
2. *Gvāliyara Rājya Ke Abhilekha*, No. 177.

"(Struck by) illustrious Vīranārāyaṇa (in the year) Śaka 1548 (during the Rājaśaka) 117".

Reverse : The same arrangement as on obverse, but a dot at the end of the first line:

(1) *Śrī Śrī*
(2) *Kṛishṇa-charaṇa*
(3) *kamala-madhu*
(4) *karasya*

"A bee on the lotus-feet of Illustrious Kṛishṇa."

Weight	:	(a) 10.25 gms.	(b) 10.10 gms.
Size	:	(a) 30.45 mm.	(b) 29.60 mm.

[Pl. V. 5]

The most interesting feature in the legend inscribed on the obverse of the coin under discussion is the Śaka Year 1548 along the Cooch Behar era (Rājaśaka) 117.

It is believed that *Mahārāja* Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, the father of Vīranārāyaṇa was alive upto the beginning of Śaka 1549 and accordingly the same Śaka year is considered to be his son Vīranārāyaṇa's installation year.[1] This supposition is based on an extant letter dated 4th October, 1627 A.D. (1549 Śaka), written by a Portuguese Jesuit named Stephen Cacella. It was stated in this letter that Cacella met King Liquinarane (Lakshmīnārāyaṇa) at Hājo in Sept. 1626 A.D. (1548 Śaka) on his way to Bhutan. Cacella resumed his journey from Behar to Bhutan on the 2nd February 1627 A. D. (1528 Śaka). At that time Gabur Saha, the son of Lakshmīnarāyāṇa was governing Behar. Some time after he left Behar, Lakshmīnārāyaṇa died and his son *Kumāra* Vīranārāyāṇa was duly installed as the King.

From this evidence it is evident that Lakshmīnārāyaṇa died some time between 2nd February and 4th Oct. 1627 A.D. However, as there is no other evidence available except the letter of Cacella, it is not possible to point out the exact death year of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa in the Śaka era. This is because both Śaka 1548 (ending in mid-April) and Śaka 1549 (beginning from mid-April) were in force in the year 1627 A.D. The date of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa's death in the *Histroy of Cooch Behar* is, therefore, only a conjecture.

1. S. C. Ghoshal, *History of Cooch Behar*, pp. 191 and 182.

Now with the help of the dated coins of Vīranārāyaṇa, we can come to the conclusion that Lakshmīnārāyaṇa died some time in between 2nd February and mid-April 1627 A. D., when the Śaka year 1548 was in force. *Kumāra* Vīranārāyaṇa ascended the throne in the same Śaka year and coins were struck with the date Śaka 1548 on it, according to the traditional system of the royal family. We regard these two full coins as coronation coins because the Cooch Behar era—*Rājaśaka* 117 inscribed on these coins corresponds to the Śaka year 1548.

The epithets inscribed on the reverse of all the coins of the Cooch Behar rulers, described them as either *Śrī-Śrī-Śiva charaṇa-kamala-madhukarasya* or *Śrī-Śrī-Hara-Gaurī-charaṇa-kamala-madhukarasya*. But an exceptional example is the epithet on the coin of Vīranārāyaṇa, who described himself as *Śrī-Śrī-Kṛishṇa-charaṇa-kamala-madhukarasya*. This change to a Vaishṇavite epithet during Vīranārāyaṇa's reign is corroborated by certain historical facts which we would like to state here:

The Vaishṇava religion obtained a strong footing in the country during the latter part of the reign of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, the father of Vīranārāyaṇa. Mādhavadeva (the disciple of Śaṅkaradeva) and Dāmodaradeva, the two Vaishṇava reformers, left their native country because of the oppression of the Āhom King and reached the kingdom of Kāmatā. Lakshmīnārāyaṇa received them with favour and offered them shelter. Prince Vīranārāyaṇa and many ladies of the royal harem were charmed by his qualities and became attached to Mādhavadeva. The religion preached by Mādhavadeva was considered as the royal religion. Vaishṇavism received official recognition when Lakshmīnārāyaṇa enrolled himself as the disciple of Dāmodaradeva, who became the royal *Guru*. Under the instruction of Dāmodaradeva, animal sacrifice was prohibited for a time in the State Worship.

Vīranārāyaṇa during his reign had ordered his court poet Kaviśekhara to utter "Govinda" always.

Like his father, Vīranārāyaṇa also struck half coins bearing the same legend as on his full coins. The coin may be described as follows:—

Coin No. 2

Obverse: (1) *Śrī Śrī ma*
(2) *dvīranārāya*
(3) *ṇasya Śa (ke)*
Trace of date below.

Reverse: (1) *Śrī Śrī*

(2) (*Kṛi*)*shṇa-charaṇa*

(3) (*ka*)*mala-madhu*

(4) (*ka*)*rasya*

Weight: 4.86 gms. ; *Size* : 22.20 mm.

(Pl. VI. 1)

In this context a silver half coin issued by Mahīndra-nārāyaṇa, the last direct descendent of Vīranārāyaṇa, from our collection is noticed here for the first time. The description of the coin is as follows :—

Coin No. 3

Obverse: Incomplete three-line legend.

(1) *Śrī-*(*Śrī*)

(2) (*Ma*)*hindranā*(*rāya*)

(3) (*ṇa*)*sya Śa*(*ke*)

No trace of fourth line. Dot and crescent before *nā* in second line.

Reverse : Incomplete four-line legend.

(1) (*Śrī*) (*Śrī*)

(2) (*Śi*) *va-chara*

(3) (*ṇa*)(*ka*)*mala-ma*

(4) (*dhu*)(*ka*)*rasya*

Dot before *La* in third-line.

Weight : 4.25 gms. ; *Size* : 19.20 mm. **(Pl. VI. 2)**

Kumāra Mahīndranārāyaṇa ascended the throne of Cooch Behar in 1604 Śaka (1682 A. D.) when new coins and seals were issued. Incidentally, he was also a devout Vaishṇava like his forefather Vīranārāyaṇa. It is written in the *Vanaprava* by Paramānanda (1797 A. D.) that Mahīndranārāyaṇa was a devout Vaishṇava. He was a vegetarian and used to take *havishyānna.* He performed *japa* in the name of Hari and sang his praise.

Vasant Chowdhury & Parimal Ray

16

A NEW GADHIYA COIN

[Pl. VI]

The antiquity of Gadhiya coins has remained only a guess in the absence of any positive numismatic evidence. Here I describe a coin which bears this name.

Shape : oval ; Weight : 640 mg. ; Size : 0.8 cm. ;

Metal : copper.

Obv. : —Legend in two lines enclosed in a dotted border

(1) *Gadhi*+[*i*]

(2) *yo*[1].

Rev. : A conch in a dotted border.

(Pl. V. 3)

The characters of the legend belong to the Northern variety of Brahmi and the coin can be ascribed on palaeographic grounds to about the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

The palaeographic peculiarities of the legend are interesting. The letter *dha* has been drawn like the English letter D whereas it should have been the reverse form D which we normally find in the inscriptions of the 5th-6th century A.D. The letter *ya* is also peculiar and is so its vowel mark. It has been written in an ornamental style adding a perpendicularine bent in the middle of the extreme right vertical line A fillet-like small line originates from the central vertical line where the curved line from left joins it. The horizontal line which serves as the base of the extreme right vertical line has been shown drawn further right from the point where the latter touches it.

The coin is a unique one and is the definite evidence of the name Gadhiya being used as early as the sixth century A.D. It belongs to Shri Babhut Mal Dugar of Sardarshahr (Rajasthan).

Devendra Handa

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1. [The reading *Gadhiyo* is doubtful.—*N.A.*]

17

A NEW GANDHI-NEHRU MEDAL

[Pl. VI]

Quite a few medals have recently been published in this *Journal*.[1] Here is a new Gandhi-Nehru medal[2] described in the following lines:

Shape : round ; Size : 3.125 cm. ; Thickness : 0.25 cm.; Weight : 14 gms. ; Metal : cupro-nickel.

Obverse : In a dot-rimmed circle bust of Pandit Nehru with the typical Nehru jacket and Gandhi cap. The legend *SUPERMAN OF INDIA* running along the border in the upper half and *Paṇḍita Jawāhara Lāla Neharū* in Devanāgarī script in the lower half with one dot each on the right and left.

Reverse : In a dot-rimmed circle, an outline map of India with an inset bust of Mahatma Gandhi to left ; the Congress flag to right rising above it over mid-Himalayas ; *Vande* and '*Mātaram*' in Devanāgarī characters superscribed on the map, the first word below Gandhiji's bust and the second on the right side of the bust. The legend *JEWEL OF INDIA* and *Rāshṭradeva Mahātmā Gāṅdhī* in Devanāgarī characters running along the border in the upper and lower halves respectively and differentiated by dotted rosettes on right and left.

(Pl. VI, 4)

There are straight milling signs on the thickness. A peculiarity of this medal is that it has been doubly struck. Traces of the first impression of the die can be seen clearly in the outline of Ceylon, peninsular India and Gandhiji's head as well as in the Roman and Devanāgarī legends.

The Congress flag on the reverse indicates that the medal was minted before independence probably during the mid-forties when both Pt. Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi were very popular and deeply associated with each other. The individual or the agency who got these medals manufactured is, however, not known.

Devendra Handa

1. *JNSI*, vol. XXIX, pt. ii, pp. 91-92, Pl. IV. 5 ; XXX, pp. 236-8, Pls. III. 1 and XI, 4-6 ; XXXI, Pt. ii, pp. 189-93.
2. It belongs to Shri Babhut Mal Dugar's collection at Sardarshahr (Rajasthan).

18

TWO NEW RĀMA-TAṄKĀS

[Pl. VI]

Two new Rāma-Ṭaṅkās have come to my notice[1] and they are being published here.

Type I:

Shape: round; Weight : 11.250 gms.; Diameter : 2.3 cm.;

Metal : rase silver; Thickness : 0.2 cm. (not uniform).

Obverse and reverse not adjusted.

Obverse : Rāma and Lakshmaṇa standing, facing right, wearing *dhotīs* and three pronged crowns, supporting bows with their right hands near the chest and one arrow each with the left hand held a bit forward. The legend all around in Gurumukhi is 'Sati Rama' (Truth is Rāma, i.e , God) repeated five times.

Reverse : In a dotted circle, Rāma and Sītā on a throne with Lakshmaṇa on the left holding the umbrella above the seated figures and Hanumat below. Lakshmaṇa is shown wearing a three-pronged crown and a coat coming down to the thighs giving a triangular look ; the figures of Rāma and Sītā, though dressed, are not distinct. The legend all around in Gurumukhī is 'Rama Nama', (Rāma's name) repeated thrice.

(Pl. VI, 5)

Pieces of this type were apparently manufactured for the people belonging to Panjab.

Type II :

Shape: round; Weight : 11.450 gms.; Diameter : 2.65 cm.;

Metal: silver; Thickness : 0.2 cm.

Obverse and reverse are adjusted properly.

Obverse: Rāma and Sītā seated on a throne, facing left; Lakshmaṇa standing on right holding umbrella above the seated figures; Hanumat massaging

1. These belong to Shri Babhut Mal Dugar's Collection at Sardarshahr.

Rāma's feet on the left; another figure above Hanumat with folded hands and long prognathism is probably Jāmbavanta; Rāma is holding his bow with the left hand supported on the left shoulder and a flower with a long stalk (Triśūla ?) in his right hand; he is shown wearing a *dhotī*, a necklace, wristlets, jewelled crown (represented by dots running from the forehead to the nape); Sītā, too, is wearing similar dress and ornaments with the addition of an upper garment; Lakshmaṇa is wearing a triangulr stripped lower garment from waist to thighs, an upper garment, a jewelled necklace, wristlets and a conical crown; Hanumān's dress is indistinct whereas Jāmbavanta is shown wearing the dress similar to that of Lakshmaṇa. There are certain strange symbols, (Letters of some script ?) on either side of the umbrella and below the throne.

Reverse: A procession of eight persons walking to left, each holding an umbrella or a fan or a fly-whisk in the right hand above the head and resting the left hand on the waist. The path is marked by two parallel horizontal lines with a row of dots inbetween. Below that are ornamental designs in the shape of a *Toraṇa* with undersketched stange symbols. Also there are certain symbols above the paraphernalia held by the processionists and round dotted circlets and fly-whisks over them probably represent the multitudinous character of the procession.

It is difficult to pin-point the locality of the prevalence of this type of Rāma-Ṭaṅkās in the present state of our knowledge. I think that Rāma-Ṭaṅkās of different types were manufactured at Ayodhya and came to other important religious centres and circulated in different regions of India during the late medieval period.[1]

Devendra Handa

1. Cf. *JNSI*, op. cit., pp. 91-92.

19

COUNTER-STRUCK VITHOBA COIN OF AURANGZEB—AN EXPLANATION

I read with interest postscript written by my learned friend P. L. Gupta on my paper that was published in one of the earlier issues of this *journal*[1]. About it I have to state as under:

(1) Regarding the mark that C. R. Singhal has identified as Vithoba mark[2]. I agree with him. Gupta takes it as a flower-pattern. In support of my contention I have to state as follows:

It is, however, true that it has been disguished as flower-pattern and quite correctly because otherwise it would have been apparent as Vithoba. But no flower of this shape is known in the Botanical world. The lower petals or stems have been shown curled inside. If these are petals then they should be straight. If these are stems then they could not curl so symmetrically. So also the seven petals form a crown. The lowest petal is small and one at the peak is the longest. This also is not possible in the flower-world. If it is in the shape of a bud, then the petal would have been shown as folded and not straight as is in the mark. Similarly the black dot in the middle does not represent the middle portion of a flower. It is apparent from its depiction. It is like a cross section and in such a depiction it should not be presented as it is shown. Therefore though the pattern has been taken as flower, still it is not a flower-representation.

The God Vithoba, who is considered to be incarnation of Vishṇu, is always represented in the form of a child with his hands on his hips. Similar idol of Vithoba is also at Indore. The decoration of the idol at Pandharpur is also very peculiar. The *Mukut* is generally extra-ordinarily big. The two inward stems or petals represent hands kept at the hips and the seven petals represent the crown. Thus it is the Vithoba who is disguised in this flower-pattern.

I am therefore of the opinion that C. R. Singhal correctly identified this mark as Vithoba. I, however, leave the controversy to stalwarts like C. R. Singhal, P. L. Gupta.

1. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 226 ff.
2. *JNSI*, XXV. pt. 1, pp. 57 ff.

(2) Regarding so-called test marks of the shroffs, I have to state that these are not test marks but counter-struck marks with the authority of the then ruling state. They were called Tappas and had the sanction of the ruling authority. I have unearthed proofs to support my contention. Since this opens up a new vista of research and will lead to many significant new findings, I propose to discuss it in a separate article. I would only state here that these have their own political significance.

R. K. Sethi

20

A UNIQUE COIN (?) OF SHAH ALAM II—A RECONSIDERATION

Handa[1] has published an interesting silver piece struck in the name of Shah Alam having Vishṇu sleeping on the Śesh-Śayyā, on the reverse. He thinks it a coin of an unknown Hindu State. In a note, P. L. Gupta has differed from his view and states that it is a piece for the purpose of necklace and it is struck by some silver-smith.

While coins have been used in necklaces or as a pendant, I feel P. L. Gupta has not taken the following points into consideration. Otherwise he might not have come to this conclusion.

(1) There is no mark on the piece to show that it was used as a piece in a necklace. The top of the piece is absolutely clear both on the obverse as well as on the riverse. So for whatever purpose it may have been minted, it was certainly not used for necklace.

(2) The legend definitely states that it is a *'Sikkā'*, i. e., a coin. It is generally found on the Mughal coins and also on the coins of Shah Alam II.

(3) The piece bears a date, that is 1202. It falls in the middle of the reign of Shah Alam II (Hijri 1173 to 1221). Therefore this piece was minted some time in the middle of the reign of Shah Alam II. The date supports the view that it is a coin.

(4) The legend on the obverse is similar to the legend on the Shah Alam's coins. His titles are also similar. It absolutely tallies with the gold coins of Murshidabad mint published by Whitehead.[2] The date is the same and Whitehead has commented in a note that these were struck by the East India Company. Therefore the

1. *JNSI*, XXXI, Pt. II, p. 181, Pl. 4, fig. 1.
2. *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. II, Coin Nos. 2864 & 2865.

likelihood is that this coin may have been struck by the East India Company in the tradition of the Vishṇu and Pagoḍā coins.

(5) This piece follows the tradition of Rāma-Sītā published by Whitehead (Pl. 21, fig. ii) which also has no mint name and has only the name of the month, while the piece under consideration has year date. Therefore coin with Hindu motif could be struck by a Muslim king of the Mughal family.

(6) The Piece in question is ornamented by a single dot encircled by six dots and a circle of five dots. This peculiarity of ornamentation by dots is abundantly found on the coins of Shah Alam II.[1]

(7) The calligraphy is similar to the calligraphy found on the coins of Shah Alam II and on the coins of the later Mughals. Particular attention is invited to the writing of the word *Allah* which is written on this coin as اله instead of اللّه . It is also written in the same way on coin No 2864 published by Whitehead.

Similar calligraphical presentation of this word is found in many coins of Shah Alam II.

(8) In size the coin is 1.1″; this size is also found in coins of Shah Alam II, particularly coin No. 2873 in Whitehead. In weight also it is similar to the coins of Shah Alam II If it was a piece which was meant for a necklace, such close adherence to size and weight would not be necessary.

The only point that goes against this is that there is no regnal year and that there is no mint mark or mint name. There are coins of Shah Alam II which have no regnal year. There has been coins belonging to Shah Alam II with wrong regnal year, particularly those minted by East India Company at Surat. But I have not come across a coin which has no mint name or mint mark. The mint name may be indistinct or may be cut but it is generally there. Is it that this has been omitted because the mint master wanted to give a picture on the reverse ?

Looking to all these arguments, I think that this piece was certainly never meant for the purpose of necklace It is probably a coin.

R.K. Sethi

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1. Whitehead op. cit., Pl. XIX. In a piece which was meant for a necklace, such close adherence to size and weight would not be necessary.

REVIEW

NANĀ ON LION: A STUDY IN KUSHĀṆA NUMISMATIC ART by B. N. Mukherjee; published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta; 1969; pp. xiv+159; plates 15; price Rs. 35.

As indicated by the title, the monograph under review is an outcome of a painstaking study of the well-known device of the Babylonian (Sumerian) goddess Nanā seated on lion figuring on some Kushāṇa coins.

The work comprises five chapter and six appendices of varying length each of which is followed by exhaustive references and notes. The inaugural chapter, which is introductory, emphasises the popularity of goddess Nanā, identified with the ancient Akkadian-Assyrian deity Ishtar and the Persian goddess Anāhita, in the territories later included in the Kushāṇa empire or in certain localities which served as important centres of Rome's trade with the Orient in which the Kushāṇas participated in a few centuries preceding Christ and points out the importance of the study of the device in question. In the following chapter, entitled 'Devices', the author discusses the origin and development of the coin-type, focussing attention on the intermingling of the concepts, functions and iconic forms of such diverse divinities as Nanā, Ishtar, Anāhita, Artemis, Tyche, Demeter and Ambā in a few centuries before and after Christ. It is suggested that these syncretistic tendencies played an important part in the formation of the concept and iconography of the Indian goddess on lion, Durgā, as well as Mahishāsuramardinī which later probably echoes the concept of Ishtar (Nanā) as a war-goddess. This chapter, which is incidentally the longest one, may be said to form the core of the book. Chapter III, entitled 'Style and Technique', is divided into two sections. Section A deals with the stylistic affinities of the representation of Nanā to some products of the Gandhāra school which support the dating of Kaneshko's Nanā about the 3rd century A. D. It is followed by a brilliant discussion of the technique of manufacturing Kushāṇa coins in Section B. The penultimate chapter, styled 'Rulers, Artists and Environment', points out how the syncretistic movements resulting from the migrations and conquests of and colonisation by foreign peoples including the

Greeks, the Scythians and the Parthians in the last three centuries B. C. and from their social, religious and cultural intercourse with the local inhabitants, i. e., the people of the Indian sub-continent, gained momentum under the Kushāṇas who imbibed a catholic religious attitude. The concluding chapter captioned 'Epilogue', sums up the the results of the foregoing study pointing out the contribution of Nanā on Lion to the development of the iconographic and religious concepts of Devī as well as to Indian numismatic terminology. It ends with the significant observation that 'the Kushāṇa age brought the world to India and presented India to the outside world' (p. 88).

Appendix I, captioned 'The Prototype of an Obverse Device of Kushāṇa Coinage', suggests that the Kushāṇa motif of 'King standing to his right and offering something on an altar' was copied by Kadphises II from the issues of the Parthian king Gotarzes II (*c.* 38-51 A. D.). The well-known gold piece in the British Museum bearing the city-deity of Pushkalāvatī including its legend, which is satisfactorily deciphered as *aṁpae*, is discussed in Appendix II. It is suggested that the iconographic features of this goddess, Ambā, may have been influenced by the Yakshiṇī figuring on certain coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles. The interest of the Kushāṇas in Indo-Roman trade is illustrated in the following appendix by pointing out that V'ima Kadphises conquest of Shen-tu or the lower Indus region was largely inspired by the prospects of economic gain accruing from thriving Indo-Roman commerce. It is suggested in Appendix IV that the four-armed goddess on a silver bowl in the Oxus Treasure should be identified with Nanā-Anāhita-Ishtar, while the following appendix is claimed by a brief discussion on an intaglio seal in a private collection at Peshawar. In the closing appendix, the author suggests that 'the hermaphrodite figure on a silver plate' in the Istambul Museum is probably influenced by two concepts associated with Śiva, viz., Ardhanārīśvara and Paśupati.

The 'Catalogue of the Objects Illustrated', covering fifteen pages (pp. 109-123), is carefully prepared. The 'Select Bibliography' containing over 190 entries is really selective and eminently useful to all serious students of Kushāṇa history and numismatics. The 'Index' extending over fifteen pages (pp. 145-159) is quite exhaustive and makes inroads into the contents of the book easy.

The reproduction of fifty-six figures, a few of them illustrated for the first time, on fifteen plates is superb.

The whole book is marked by objectivity of approach, precision, eminently readable presentation, thoroughness and originality of suggestions most of which are well-based. However, by the very nature of the case it may not be possible to accept all the suggestions offered by the author. Such, for example, is the suggestion that the hermaphrodite figure on a silver plate in the Istambul Museum was inspired by the Ardhanārīśvara motif. The fact that the female breast is on the proper right and not on proper left (see fig. 49) as demanded by the androgynous motif seems to negative the suggestion though, it must be admitted, we are unable to offer any other explanation of the figure. At a few places it is possible to add a little more information in support of the author's statements. He rightly sees the continuation of the use of the term *nāṇaka* in modern times in the expression *nāṇo* still current in the sense of 'money' in Rajasthan and parts of Western India (p. 57). It is interesting to note in this connection that in Marathi the word *nāṇe* in the sense of 'coin' still continues in popular usage. On p. 72, the author refers to the change of *va* into *pa* in Prakrit and note 10 on p. 75 cites *apadāna* for *avadāna* as an example. We may add a couple of equally well-known instances, to wit, *Viśpamitra* for Viśvāmitra on a silver coin of Audumbara Dharaghosha (*BMC, AI*, p. 124, pl. xiv 14) and Viśpila for Viśvila in the Shinkot Relic Casket Inscription of the time of Menander (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (2nd edition, Calcutta, 1965, p 105, No. E). Although the printing and general get up are excellent, some misprints and a few other flaws have crept into the consideration while revising the book for a future edition. These points, however, cannot detract us from the high intrinsic merit of the work which forms a valuable additition to the existing literature on the Kushāṇas. It is a product of deep scholarship and sets a standard for similar studies in future. We warmly congratulate Dr. Mukherjee for this brilliant accomplishment and only wish that similar topical studies on Indian numismatics are undertaken by competent scholars.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

I

COMMUNICATIONS

Dear Sir,

I have read with interest Mr. Sant Lal Katare's article, "Nevasa Coins of King Sātavāhana" in *JNSI*, Part I, for 1970. There is too much confusion amongst scholars about the coins of King Sātavāhana, the Founder of the Sātavāhana Dynasty. Mr. Katare is right in saying that Mr. Deo's mistakes are based on Dr. Rama Rao's incorrect and faulty listing.

In the "Foreword" to Dr. Rama Rao's Catalogue of Sātavāhana coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Mr. N. Ramesan, I.A.S., says "Coin No. 1 in the present monograph... ... ...is a rare and important coin. There are only three more coins of this type in existence, one with Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad and the two others whose provenance is not known." As a non-technical man Mr. Ramasen, does not seems to understand the numismatic nomenclature,—TYPE. My coin of King Sātavāhana, published by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, in *JNSI*, Vol. VII, Parts I and II, for 1945, pages 1 to 4, Plate II, Fig. 1, is totally different in TYPE, SHAPE, SIZE and METAL, from the coin referred to by Mr. Ramesan.

In his Catalogue, referred to above, Dr. Rama Rao says: "No. 1 is a very important and interesting coin. Three other lead coins of this king are known. One of them is found in the collection of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad, and is said to have been purchased at Poona and Aurangabad." Further, Dr. Rama Rao says that my coin "contains a crude elephant facing left" and that the Aurangabad coin "contains an elephant walking left".

Dr. Rama Rao has committed blunders in listing and in recording the three known coins of King Sātavāhana, and Messrs: Deo and Ramesan have followed in his footsteps. The facts are thus:—

Coin No. 1 of Dr. Rama Rao's Catalogue of Sātavāhana Coins was discovered by the Archæological Department of Hyderabad State in the excavations at Kondapur, in Medak District, in the old Nizam's State. It is neither mentioned nor

illustrated in "Excavations at Kondapur" by/the then Director of Archæology of Hyderabad State,—Dr. G. Yazdani—published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXII, pp. 171-185, which is the earliest Report on the Excavations at Kondapur. This, probably because the Assistant in charge of the excavations,—Mr. Khawaja Muhammad Ahmed, the then Curator of the Hyderabad Museum, who is said to be an "expert on coins" (vide page 180 of the above work) was not able to understand the type and the fabric of the Sātavāhanas and could not read the legend to identify the king. It was first published by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, in the Numismatic Series of the Hyderabad Museum, No. 4, in 1950, five years after the same scholar published my coin of King Sātavāhana, in the *JNSI*, Vol. VII, Parts I and II, for 1955, pages 1 to 4, Plate II, Fig. 1.

If Dr. Rama Rao, and Messrs: Deo and Ramesan, who have followed him, compare these two issues of King Sātavāhana, the Founder of the Sātavāhana Dynasty,—both illustrated in the said Numismatic Series of the Hyderabad Museum, No. 4,—they will know the facts. The facts as thus:—

a. The type, fabric and the metal of the Kondapur coin and my coin are totally different.

b. Kondapur coin is of LEAD and is OVAL in shape. My coin is of COPPER and is SQUARE in shape.

c. The legend on Kondapur coin "has not come out in full". The legend on my coin is almost complete.

d. The elephant on my coin does not face "left" as Dr. Rama Rao says in his Catalogue. It faces RIGHT.

e. Dr. Rama Rao's statement that the elephant on my coin is "crude" is incorrect. My coin is finely struck, with almost complete legend and is in a perfect state of preservation.

f. The Statment on the coins of King Sātavāhana, on page 63 of the *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, Part I, for 1970, may be referred to verify my statements and to rectify the confusion and blunders committed by Dr. Rama Rao and his followers.

Mr. Ramesan, in his "Foreword" to Dr. Rama Rao's Catalogue, says, "Coin No. 1 in the present monograph...........is rare

and important. There are only three more coins of this type in existence... " This would mean that there are four coins of this type and fabric. In the Catalogue, Dr. Rama Rao says: "Coin No. 1 is very important and interesting coin. Three other lead coins are known". This would again mean that there are four coins of King Sātavāhana, all of lead. Dr. Rama Rao refutes himself saying, "The other two coins were purchased in Poona and Aurangabad, "which would mean that there are–two plus one–three coins of King Sātavāhana. He is confused and is not able to understand as to how many coins there are and which coin belongs to whom, and the place where they were found by their respective owners. The facts are as follows, which will clear the chaos, confusion, mistakes and blunders of Dr. Rama Rao, which have been blindly followed by Mr. Deo and Mr. Ramesan, who was in charge of the Archæological Department of Andhra Pradesh, in 1961, when Dr. Rama Rao's Catalogue referred to was published:—

There are only THREE coins of King Sātavāhana, the Founder of the Sātavāhana Dynasty, known to European scholars as "Andhra Dynasty", (Rapson's Catalogue of the Dynasty in British Museum),—of which ONE is of LEAD and TWO of COPPER, thus:—

1. The Coin found in the excavations at Kondapur by the Archæological Department of the then Nizam's Government, Hyderabad, is OVAL in shape and is of LEAD. It was not mentioned in the earliest Report on the excavations of Kondapur, by Dr. G. Yazdani, the then Director of Archæology in Hyderabad State, as mentioned above. It was first published by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, in the Numismatic Series of the Hyderabad Museum, No. 4, in 1950.

2. I belong to Hyderabad and my coin was acquired in Warangal, the chief town of the district of the same name in the old, Hyderabad State, and is SQUARE in shape and is of COPPER. On my request, Dr. V. V. Mirashi published it for the first time in the annals of Indian numismatics, in 1945, i. e. five years before he published the Kondapur specimen, in the *JNSI*, Vol. VII, Parts I & II, for 1945, page 1 to 4, Fig. I in Plate II.

3. Mr. Joglekar belongs to Poona and he found his specimen, similar to mine, in Aurangabad and was published by late Dr. M. G. Dikshit, in The Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, VI, pp. 171-185. This coin is RECTANGULAR IN SHAPE and is of COPPER.

Hence POONA is absolutely out of question in the matter of the place of find of the above three coins of King Sātavāhana, and all the three are not of LEAD. The following shall make the matter very clear:--

1. *Kondapur Coin* :—Oval ; Lead ; Owner : Hyderabad Museum.
2. *Hurmuz Kaus Coin* :—Square ; Copper ; Owner : Hurmuz Kaus.
3. *Joglekar Coin*—Rectangular ; Copper ; Owner : Mr. Joglekar.

While Hurmuz Kaus belongs to Hyderabad, he acquired the coin in Warangal, and Mr. Joglekar who belongs to Poona acquired the coin in Aurangabad.

European scholars in general, and the British scholars in particular, during the Empire period, concentrated more on the coins of the Imperial Dynasties of the north, both of ancient and medieval periods, and paid little attention to the kingdoms of the Deccan. Scholars in general and numismatists in particular, should be deeply grateful to Dr. V. V. Mirashi for his efforts and studies in bringing to light some hitherto obscure dynasties and coins of ancient India, including those of some of the Founders of the dynasties, in the last three decades or more. Some of the coins of ancient India that he has published in post-British period, are not only rare and unique, but are classical issues, throwing a flood of light on "the dim recesses of our hoary past". Indian scholars and numimatists would have continued the western nomenclature "Andhra Dynasty" if Dr. Mirashi had not brought to light the coins of King Sātavāhana, the Founder of the Dynasty, now known after his name. Similarly the SEBAKA and the MAHISHA are brought to light, not known in the older annals of Indian Numismatics.

The Nagpur University has placed Indologists under its deep gratitude by publishing the University Series No. 1, "Studies in

Indology-COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA": in which the article on ancient Indian coins by the learned Dr. V. V. Mirashi are preserved in one volume, which shall serve as a guide and a landmark for generations to come. Here I may be allowed to mention that the coins from my collection, published by Dr. Mirashi, on my request, in post-British period, are not known in any Museum in India or abroad, and his "conclusions are clear and convincing".

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
Hurmuz Kaus

II

Dear Dr. Gupta,

Working on ancient Indian coins, I often come across denominations said to have been struck to a theoretical standard of XY *ratti*; when I go and check them on the standard Catalogues, I find these talking mainly about *grains* and when I want to weigh a specimen on my scales I have to use *grammes*.

I think that the correct attitude should be to consider first of all the weight in *rattis*, as these prevailed at the time of minting; I acknowledge that a colossal amount of numismatic work has been done by scholar who thought in terms of grains; but I think that, for the future, grammes will have to prevail.

So the problem of converting, onwards and backwards, the three expressions, will remain with us and continue to involve an annoying loss of time, possible mistakes, etc.

I have therefore prepared a Conversion Table which starts from *rattis* and gives the equivalents in grains and grammes on the assumption of a simplified ratio of 1 *ratti*= 1.8 gr =0.1166 gm.; if any body prefers a different value for the *ratti*, he is free to waste his time in calculating a different Table. I think mine is good enough for all practical purposes (no coin was machine-made with high precision and even the Gandhiji 10 Rupees coins of 1970 are found to differ in weight one from the other...); I have pasted my copy on a bit of cardboard and kept it on my desk for handy consultation.

Apologizing for the "faint" copy, I am sending you herewith the Table, for your use and, eventually, for publication in the *JNSI* (or in your forthcoming Corpus of the PMC!); I think it may be of some use for all, and add that it might even be given to

a Coin dealer who-for publicity-could have it printed on plastificated material. Personally I claim no copyright for such a menial little work !

With kind regards, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

C. Valdettaro

Encl.

Ratti =	gr =	gm	Ratti =	gr. =	gm
1	1.8	0.1166	31	55.8	3.6146
2	3.6	0.2332	32	57.6	3.7313
3	5.4	0.3498	33	59.4	3.8478
4	7.2	0.4664	34	61.2	3.9644
5	9.0	0.5830	35	63.0	4.0810
6	10.8	0.6996	36	64.8	4.1976
7	12.6	0.8162	37	66.6	4.3142
8	14.4	0.9328	38	68.4	4.4308
9	16.2	1.0494	39	70.2	4.5474
10	18.0	1.1660	40	72.0	4.6640
11	19.8	1.2826	41	73.8	4.7806
12	21.6	1.3992	42	75.6	4.8972
13	23.4	1.5158	43	77.4	5.0138
14	25.2	1.6324	44	79.2	5.1304
15	27.0	1.7490	45	81.0	5.2470
16	28.8	1.8656	46	82.8	5.3636
17	30.6	1.9822	47	84.6	5.4802
18	32.4	2.0988	48	86.4	5.5968
19	34.2	2.2154	49	88.2	5.7134
20	36.0	2.3320	50	90.0	5.8300
21	37.8	2.4486	51	91.8	5.9466
22	39.6	2.5652	52	93.6	6.0632
23	41.4	2.6818	53	95.4	6.1798
24	43.2	2.7984	54	97.2	6.2964
25	45.0	2.9150	55	99.0	6.4130
26	46.8	3 0316	56	100.8	6.5296
27	48 6	3 1482	57	102.6	6.6462
28	50.4	3.2648	58	104.4	6.7628
29	52.2	3.3814	59	106.2	6.8794
30	54.0	3.4980	60	108.0	6.9960

61	109.8	7.1126	81	145.8	9.4446
62	111.6	7.2292	82	147.6	9.5612
63	113.4	7.3458	83	149.4	9.6778
64	115.2	7.4624	84	151.2	9.7944
65	117.0	7.5790	85	153.0	9.9110
66	118.8	7.6956	86	154 8	10.0276
67	120.6	7.8122	87	156.6	10.1442
68	122.4	7.9288	88	158.4	10.2608
69	124.2	8.0454	89	160.2	10.3774
70	126.0	8.1620	90	162.0	10.4940
71	127.8	8.2786	91	163.8	10.6105
72	129.6	8.3952	92	165.6	10.7272
73	131.4	8.5118	93	167.4	10.8438
74	133.2	8.6284	94	169.2	10.9604
75	135.0	8.7450	95	171.0	11.0770
76	136.8	8.8616	96	172.8	11.1836
77	138.6	8.9782	97	174.6	11.3002
78	140.4	9.0948	98	176.4	11.4168
79	142.2	9.2114	99	178.2	11.5434
80	144.0	9.3280	100	180.0	11.6600

ERRATA

Page 77, Line 204 Read-by him For-by lion

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 59th ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

(*Held at Nagpur on 10th, 11th & 12th November, 70*)

The 59th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India was held at Nagpur on the 10th, 11th and 12th November, 1970.

Conference

The first session of the Conference was held jointly with the 4th Annual Conference of the Indian Archæological Society in the Convocation Hall of the Nagpur University.

Dr. V. B. Kolte, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University inaugurated both the Conferences. In his inaugural address Dr. Kolte said "Vidarbha is rich archæologically and fruitful from the point of view of numismatic data. The Kingdom of Vidarbha was well-known in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads* Bhīma, the King of Vidarbha, is mentioned in the *Aiteraya Brāhmaṇa* as having received instructions regarding the Soma juice. The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* mentions the sage Kaundinya of Vidarbha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells the story of King Daṇḍa, son of Ikshavākū and grandson of Manu, who led a voluptous life. On account of a curse of sage Bhārgava, his entire kingdom was destroyed by a terrible dust storm. Subsequently the entire region lying between the Vindhyas and the Saivala mountains came to be known as Daṇḍakāraṇya.

The royal houses of Vidarbha were matrimonially related to several princely families of North India. The Vidarbha princesses Damayanti, Indumati and Rukmani who were married to Nala, Aja and Krishṇa respectively, are well-known figures of classical Indian literature. Similarly in the historical period, the matrimonial relations between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas are also well-known. Several great Sanskrit and Marāthi poets from Kālidāsa onwards have drawn the themes of their works from the romantic lives of these epic heroes.

Paunar was the first site selected for exacavations by the Nagpur University. Paunar, as you are well aware, has been identified with ancient Pravarapur, the capital of the Vākāṭakas who ruled over Vidarbha and adjoining territories from the 3rd to 6th century A. D. Paunar, along with other parts of Vidarbha, was included in the Asokan Empire in the 3rd century B. C. This is eloquently borne out by the existence of a fragmentary edict of the Mauryan Emperor at Deotek in Chanda district.

Pauni has proved to be the most spectacular of all the sistes of Vidarbha excavated so far. It contains several large stupas. One of them has proved to be the biggest stupa of India—almost double the size of Sanchi—equipped with a number of sculptures which can approach only Bharhut in their stylistic concetion. Indeed the findings of Pauni are dazzling. While one stupa is rich in sculpture, the other abounds in coins of the Sātavāhana period. The discoveries at Pauni have abundantly proved the existence of a well laid-out large Buddhist establishment. More than that it has given us an important landmark in the history of Buddhism and Buddhist Art.

I fervently believe that the discoveries in this region of Vidarbha will help us in reconstructing the history of India in general and of Vidarbha in particular. In this task, the role of Numismatists is also formidable. You are aware that this region has so far yielded quite a variety of coins. The most notable of such evidence is the hoard of Tarhala, which was first published by Mahamahopadhyaya Mirashi. Subsequently also coins of the Sātavāhanas, the Kshatrapas and the Vishnukundins have been found. I would, therefore, appeal to the Numismatists assembled here to give a dynamism to the study of numismatic data from this region as well as elsewhere, as done by Dr. Mirashi who still continues his scholarly pursuits and has been a constant guide to the research departments in this University."

After the inaugural address Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, the President of the Session read his presidential address:

Presidential Address

I am deeply beholden to the Executive Committee of the Numismatic Society of India for the signal honour it has done by electing me its President for the current year. Please do not

think that I am conventional when I say that I feel very much embarrassed on account of my limitations to hold this high office. My contributions to Indian Numismatic studies are very little. I have neither attended any of the sessions of the Numismatic Society of India nor helped it in any manner in its organisation and work. But I value the honour greatly and take my election as an opportunity given to me to meet here many distinguished scholars whose contributions to Indological studies have served as a model and source of great inspiration to me in my work in the University of Madras. I hope that with your indulgence and co-operation I shall be able to discharge my duties here and maintain the high standard of work achieved by the Society under the guidance of eminent scholars who have preceded me in this office.

The recent years have witnessed a growing awareness of the cultural heritage of the country and the need for the discovery and dissemination of knowledge on different aspects of Indian culture. The importance of the study of subjects like art and archæology at the University level is gaining due recognition. A number of Universities in India have started new Departments which are called Department of Ancient History and Archæology or Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archæology or Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture or simply Department of Archæology, and organised post-Graduate M. A. Degree courses in which Numismatics necessarily finds a place. Most of the States in the country have organised Archæological Departments. The Archæological Survey of India, which is running a School of Archæology is giving training to students in Archæological work and studies. All these have created greater interest in the study of Numismatics; and this is well evidenced by the increases in the number of scholars engaged in the study of the subject. Such studies have helped in bridging to some extent certain gaps that existed in our knowledge of the numismatic history of the country and in finding probable solutions to questions that were previously eluding scholars. But there are still many problems which are difficult of solution largely on account of the non-availability or inadequacy of necessary evidence for the proper identification of coins, the determination of their dates and their place in the economic history of India. I propose to consider in the course of this address some of the problems relating to South Indian Numismatics.

It has been said that the coinage of South India "presents greater difficulties to the student and offers less reward for his labours than that of the North". Is is probably on account of that reason that studies made so far on South Indian coins are strikingly inadequate in relation to the available material. Studies on South Indian coins were commenced in 1858 by Sir Walter Elliot who published two papers entitled "Numismatic Gleanings", in one of which he described the Punch-marked and Sātavāhana coins and in the other the Puri-Kushaṇa coins of Orissa. In 1886 he brought out his *Coins of South India*, an indispensable publication for a study of South Indian coinage. Two other early numismatic scholars who deserve mention here are G. Bidie and R. H. C. Tufnell. The first of them wrote in 1883 a paper on Pagoda or *Varaha*, and two years later, the second described thirty-five coins and wrote his *Hints to Coin Collectors in South India.* In 1882 J. Gibbs brought to light the Ramatankis and in 1887-88. J. E. Tracy discussed fifteen copper coins of the Pāṇḍyas. Mention should also be made here of Laventhol's *Coins of Tinnevelly* which was also published in the last century. Among other notable names to be mentioned in this connection are those of Codrington, the author of *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Rapson, the author of *Indian Coins*, Smith, the author of the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* and E. Hultzsch, who has contributed a number of articles on South Indian coins to the volumes of the *Indian Antiquary*. Indian scholars began to write from the beginning of the present century and among the earliest of them was R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar, who brought to light some Choḷa, Chālukya Yādava and Vijayanagar coins. T. Deshikachari was another notable numismatic who was the author of three works]1] *South Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics*, [2] *South Indian Coins* and [3] *The Pandyas and Cholas and their Coinage.* M. H. Krishna contributed a number of articles on South Indian coins to Journals and also presented a thesis on Deccan Numismatics for the London University (unpublished). D. R. Bhandarkar and R. Srinivasa brought to light some Western Chālukya coins while J. F. Fleet has described the Eastern Chālukya issues in a number of papers. Rev. Heras has written some articles on a few Vijayanagar coins, while the Andhra Pradesh Government have published a catalogue of the Vijayanagar coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum prepared by A. Ramesan. In recent years C. H. Biddulph brought out two

monographs, one on the coins of the Pāṇḍyas and the other on those of the Cholas. To this list may be added the late Vidya Prakash, the author of *Coinage of South India: An Introductory Survey*. T. G. Aravamuthan, formerly Curator for Numismatics in the Government Museum, Madras and the author of a monograph on *The Venetian Coins in the Madras Museum* (published by the Museum) was a numismatist of repute and has written many articles. In his recent demise South Indian Numismatics has lost a dedicated scholar. The above bibliographical survey is neither exhaustive nor selective. There are also others, who through their work and writings have shown interest in the study of South Indian numismatics, and contributed to our knowledge of the same.

Some of the conclusions arrived at by the pioneering scholars mentioned above may require reconsideration in the light of fresh discoveries and recent researches; but the credit of initiating studies on an almost neglected and difficult branch of Indian numismatics goes to them only. In recent years the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* has published a number of informative papers on the subject; but still certain fundamental questions remain for consideration, as I shall presently attempt to show.

Though a considerable number of punch-marked coins have been found from different parts of Tamil Nadu, particularly in the Southern districts of the State, it is difficult to say anything definite about their chronology ; and in the absence of a solid chronological basis, these coins cannot be easily fitted into the numismatic frame of the country. However, a tentative suggestion may be made regarding a possible line of approach to make a relative assessment of their period. The silver *denarius* of Augustus is found in association with punch-marked coins at Pennar in the Coimbatore District and other Roman coins assignable to the middle of the first century A. D. have been found from the hoards of punch-marked coins at Tondamanattam in the South Arcot District and Mambalam in the Madras City, indicating thereby that punch-marked coins were in circulation during that period, at least in the regions in which they have been found in association with the above-mentioned foreign coins. This surmise is strengthened by the occurrence of a coin of the Sātavāhana period (first century A. D.) along with punch-marked coins in the excavations at Chandravalli in Mysore. But the chronological

extent of their circulation in different parts of South India still remains vague. A bulk of these coins in the collection of the Government Museum, Madras, had been found in different places in the Pāṇḍya country and archaeological excavations at chosen sites in the region may throw further light on the period when these coins were in circulation in the area.

The punch-marked coins discovered in the north have been classified as Pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and Post-Mauryan issues. But though many of the symbols of the South Indian issues may be similar to those in the North, it is doubtful if the same chronological denominations will have any relevance in the South Indian context. The political factors and local conditions prevailing in the region are to be kept in mind. As an example I may mention that the peacock-on-mount symbol is generally assigned to the Mauryan period, since it was one of the symbols of the Maurya dynasty. But coins bearing the same symbol have been obtained from the Madurai district in the extreme south which, we know for certain, was outside the Mauryan Empire, and hence these coins cannot be fitted into that chronological frame,

The question of the upper and lower limits of the period of the punch-marked coins in the South may probably be advantageously considered with the help of the numerous *graffiti* symbols found on potsherds belonging to the early period and brought to light by archaeological excavations. The pottery which bears these *graffiti* marks are the Black-and-red ware, the Russet-coated-painted ware and the Red-slipped ware ascribable in South India to a period from *c.* 5th century B. C. to *c.* 4th century A. D. The symbols like the Sun, cresent Moon, Mount, *Triśūla,* ladder conventionalished fish, trees, human figurines and other symbols like plus marks, cross marks etc. are found occurring both on the potsherds and on many punch-marked coins of South India. On the basis of the similarity of tense symbols found on both of them it may possibly be postulated that the lower time limit for the punch-marked issues of the South was c. 500 B. C. As to the upper time limit for the coins we have noticed above that they were in circulation in the first century A. D. The similarity of the *graffiti* marks like human figurines and conventionalised fish found on the pottery from Arikamedu datable to the first century A. D. confirms this. It may be pointed out here that silver punch-marked coins of the

Bodinayakanur hoard have invariably fish as their reverse symbol. Since the find spot is near Madurai and in the Pāṇḍya country these coins were probably issued by the Pāṇḍya rulers who had the fish as their emblem.

An allied question is the authorship of the coins. This question has been studied in detail with reference to the North Indian issues. But in the South it still remains to be tackled. Not all the issues could have been made by the rulers, likewise the symbols on the coins. Though some of them may have some religious significance some may have other and yet unknown meaning. It is not difficult to trace a few of them to as remote a period as the Harappan times.

The latter half of the period when punch-marked coins were in currency in South India synchronised with what is known as the Sangam age in South Indian history, a period characterised by remarkable literary activity when most of the earliest Tamil works are believed to have been composed. In these works are found stray references to gold coins. The *Padirrupattu*, for instance, states that the Chera king Perunjeral Irumporai gave to the poet Arisil Kilar a present of 900,000 gold *Kanams*. Adukotpattu Cheralatan gave a gift of 100,000 gold *Kanams* to the poetess Kakkaippadiniyar and Karikala presented 1,600,000 *Pons* (gold coins) to the poet Rudran Kannanar for his work *Pattinappalai*. Presumably *Kanam* was a small gold coin. The *Padirruppatu* also mentions *Kap-Pon*, obviously meaning quarter of a *pon* a gold coin. A study of the coins mentioned in the Sangam works and their value and their identification or comparison with the coins of the period obtained from excavations will be interesting and useful.

Till recently there was a gap in our knowledge of the history of South Indian Numismatics between the period of the punch-marked coins and that of the Pallava and Pāṇḍya issues. The recent discovery of a hoard of over hundred lead coins with Tamil-Brahmi legends from Andippatti in the Chengam taluk in the North Arcot District helps us considerably in bridging this gap. The coins which are in the collections of the Government Museum, Madras, have not yet been published in detail. The legend on them reads *Atinan Ftiran Sendan*, from which it may be deduced that they were issued by a Sendan. Considering the palaeography of the legend on the coins, they are assignable to the second century

A.D. and the symbols usually seen on Sātavāhana coins like mount, wavy line etc. are seen on them. This numismatic discovery is of considerable palaeographical significance because the letter *e* in Etiran has a dot inside it. In *Sutra* 16 of the *Tolkappiyam*, its author Tolkappiyar, the easliest known Tamil Grammarian, states that *e* and *o* have dots added to them (*Ekara Okarat tiyarkaiyum arre*); i. e. the letter *e* with dot should be pronounced as shorte. The Andippatti hoard has conclusively demonstrated that the old Tamil letter *e* did have a dot as laid down by Tolkappiyanar. It is of interest that the letters in the Dravidin inscriptions in the Tamil country exhibit the same characteristics.

Along with these coins in the Tamil-Brahmi characters men·tion should be made of the recent view that one of the languages in the bilingual silver issues of the Sātavāhana king Vasishṭhiputra Sātakarṇi is Tamil. These coins were studied by Rapson, Altekar, Sircar and Dinkar Rao. Sircar who read the legend on the reverse of the coin as *Arahanasha Vahitti Makanasha Tiru Hatakanisha* (i. e. of the king Sātakarṇi the son of Vaśishṭhi) took the language of the inscription as Telugu of the ancient Dravidian dialect as may be seen from the use of such words as *arahana*, *makana* and *tiru*. Since the letter read as *ha* by Sircar, does not appear to have the bottom curve turned to the right and as it resembles *cha* of the early Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. Nagaswamy reads *Arahau* as *Arasan* and postulates that the language of the legend is Tamil. Following the method adopted by Buhler in deciphering the Bhattiprolu script he reads *ma kan* as *makan* and feels that the whole legend should be read as *Aracansa Vachitti makanasa tiru Chatakanisa*. Here also as in the Andippatti coins one finds the practice of making the *pure consonant* with a dot (*pulli*). The discovery that Tamil was employed along with Prakrit as an additional language in some of the Sātavāhana coins outside Tamil Nadu is of considerable significance.

Mention may also be made here of the find of a few coins in Tamil Nadu which have been assigned to what are known as the Kalabhras. Though the problem of the Kalabhras is still a "Mystery" in South Indian history, the coins assigned to them are of more than ordinary interest.

The next stage in the history of South Indian Numismatics is represented by the Pallava coins. It is now generally agreed that the coins with the lion-motif which were previously supposed

to be Pallava issues really seem to belong to the Vishṇukuṇḍins, and that coins bearing the relief of a bull may be safely attributed to the Pallavas. A considerable number of coins of this type found inside and outside the area of the Pallava dominions have been published. Among them are a few which were recovered from Mamallapuram. Once of them with a star on the reverse reads *Sribhara* and another with a fish on the reverse reads *Srinidhi*. *Sribhara* and *Srinidha* were *birudas* of the Pallava king Narasimha Varman II (691-728). But special reference must be made here to seven thin lead coins unearthed during the excavations at Kanchipuram by Dr. R. Subrahmanyan in 1963. In all the coins the relief of the bull is artistic, and interstingly enough no legend is seen on them unlike in the coins of a similar type of the Sātavāhana. Stratigraphically these coins have been assigned to sub-period I B, which corresponds to the early Pallava period beginning from about the commencement of the third century A.D. Likewise in the excavations recently conducted by me in the same town was found a mould for minting coins with the symbol of a bull which looks very much like a few ones illustrated in Ellot's *Coins of South India* (Pl. Nos. 32, 33, 34 and 37). It is also assignable to the early Pallava period. These numismatic discoveries are of particular interest because they have some bearing on the contention of some scholars that the earlier capital of the Pallavas was not the present Kanchipuram which they occupied only in the sixth century, but the Periya-Chinna Ganjam complex in lower coastal Andhra. This view rests mainly on the argument that the earlier copper plates of the Pallavas were issued only in the present day Andhra Pradesh and not in or near about Kanchipuram. But the discovery of coins with the Pallava *lāñchhana* at Kanchipuram itself in a vertical excavation where date is being convincingly determined by stratigraphy should, I think, be taken into account in the consideration of the question of the original capital of the Pallavas. The value of the find of coins for fixing the chronology of a site can hardly be exaggerated, particularly in vertical excavations where the importance of stratigraphy is well recognised and this is borne out by a number of other excavations in the country among which may be mentioned those at Rupar, Ahichchhatra, Nasik, Brahmgiri, Elleswaram etc.

Another aspect of South Indian Numismatics that deserves greater attention than it has received so far relates to Pāṇḍyan

coinage. C. H. Budduph in his recent monograph on Paṇḍyan coins has brought together all the available data on the subject, but there are still many problems in it. Though Pāṇḍya inscriptions refer to *tiraman* (*dramma*), *Kasu*, *panam* etc. the specific attribution of extant specimens of these to particular kings still remains problematic. The early Pandyan issues are copper coins and have the fish emblem along with devices associated with Chola and Chālukya coins. Some of them bear the legend *Sundara* or *Sundara Pandya* or just the first letter *Su* in the name. The Pāṇḍyan pedigree consists of more than one Sundara Pāṇḍya and the attribution of these coins to any one among them is difficult. Their are some coins which are supposed to bear the legend Vīra Pāṇḍya, though the reading has been doubted by some. Some other Pandya coins bear legends which are titles like *Kodandarama*, *Kachchhialangum Perumal*, *Bhutala Ellantalaiyanan*, *Parasurama*, *Kulasekhara*, *Samarakolahalan*, *Bhuvanaikavira*, *Koneritayan*, *Kaliyugaraman* etc. For the attribution of these coins to particular kings one has to look for the different titles of the kings in their inscriptions and find out which king bore which title. This itself is a problem because medieval Pandyan genealogy bristles with problems at almost every stage of our pursuit of the subject. From the available evidence the genealogy and dates of the kings have been generally arranged as follows:—

Jatavarman Kulasekshara	acc.	1162 A.D.
Jatavarman Kulasekhara	acc.	1190 A D.
Maravarman Sundara Pandya	acc.	1216 A.D.
Jatavarman Kulasekhara	acc.	1237 A.D.
Maravarman Sundara Pandya	acc.	1238 A.D.
Jatavarman Sundara Pandya	acc.	1251 A D
Jatavarman Vira Pandya	acc	1253 A D.
Maravarman Kulasekhara	acc.	1268 A.D.
Jatavarman Sundara Pandya	acc.	1276 A.D.
Jatavarman Vira Pandya	acc.	1296 A.D.
Jatavarman Sundara Pandya	acc.	1303 A D.

It is also known that at least a few Pandya kings were ruling simultaneously in different parts of the Pandyan kingdom Further titles like *Ellamtalaiyana*, *Kodandaraman* etc. that are found on the Pandya coins are also mentioned in some of the inscriptions of these rulers. But that does not help us much since there are more

than one ruler with the same name. Let us take for instance the title *Ellamtalaiyanan,* K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and others have ascribed the title to Jatavaram Sundara Pandya acc. 1251 A. D. who also had the titles *Kovil Ponmeynda Perumal*, *Seranai venran* etc. But this identification does not lend itself to easy acceptance since the inscriptions with the title *Ellamtalaiyanan* reveal that they form a group and stand apart from others. If we classify the medieval Pandyan inscriptions on the basis of royal *prasastis* it may not be difficult to recognise that the title *Kodandaraman* was borne by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya acc. 1303 A. D. and hence coins bearing that title can more convincingly be attributed to him. But such clues are not available for most of the titles and hence the problem of their correct attribution still remains unsettled.

The Chola coins have been dealt with in a short compass by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and next to him by C. H. Buddulph. The monograph on the *Dowlaiswaram (East Godavari) Hoard of Eastern Chalukya and Chola Coins* by T. Balakrishnan Nayar shows that two groups of the much-discussed Chola coins in them contain the legends *Kattaikonda Cholan* and *Malainadu—Konda Cholan.* He attributes them probably on surer grounds to Kulottunga I, while K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has read the legends as *Kangaikonda—Cholan* and *Malainadukonda Cholan* and attributed them respectively to Rajendra Gangaikonda Chola and Rajakesari Rajadhiraja I. It should, however, be said that the problem of Chola coins is not as complicated as that of the Pandya coins, though much work remains to be done on them also.

It may be mentioned that such coins as *kanam* and *kasu* so frequently mentioned in Chola inscriptions are referred to in a few later Pallava inscriptions belonging to the period of Nandivarman III and Nripalungavarman. Thus shows that some coins were in continuous circulation in certain areas in spite of dynastic changes, though their value could have differed from region to region.

A point of interest and significance in South Indian Numismatics is the striking nature of the variations one notices in the value of the *kasu* in different regions in the same period. A comparative study of Pandya inscriptions in a chosen period in the Pandya and Chola countries would reveal that the value of the *kasu* was several times more in the Pandya area proper than what it

was in the Chola area even though both the areas were under Pandya overlordship. For instance, inscriptions of Maranjadaiyan, identifiable with Varaguna II (752-780) have been found in many places in the Chola territory; one of them from Kumbakonam records the gift of 138 cows and 100 *kasus* for two lamps in the temple of Nagesvarsvami at the place and another from Lalgudi in the Tiruchirapalli district refers to the gift of 120 *kasus* for the provision of one lamp. But an inscription of the same king from Tiruppattur in the Pandya country records the gift of only ten *kasus* for a lamp. In Pandyan inscriptions one hears very often of *palankasu* which means old *kasu*. In fact the *palankasu* appears to have been current as late as the period of the later Cholas. We learn from a few of their inscriptions that for endowing a lamp two or three *palankasus* were enough, while in one instance, as many as 1100 current *kasus* were required for the same purpose. Even when the Pandya country was brought under Chola hegemony the value of the coins does not appear to have changed. An inscription of a Chola viceroy from Ambasamudram in the Pandya country mentions only ten *kasus* in connection with a lamp.

The above references naturally lead us to a consideration of the value of inscriptions for a study of the currency systems in medieval south India. The Tamil inscriptions alone from the Tamil country and the adjoining areas and belonging to the period roughly from the ninth to the fourteenth century contain reference to as many as eighty kinds of coins in gold, silver, copper etc. current in the Chola empire. The *Kalyanju* and *manjadi* so frequently mentioned in Chola inscriptions were units of bullion weight. The *Pon* was a gold coin which was of the weight of a *Kalanju*. The *madai* was a standard coin, half of which was the *kasu*. There were local issues of the *madai* too, to which there are numerous references in inscriptions, showing that each area in the empire had its own local currency. In the later Chola period there were copper *kasus* too, whose value must have been low as gleaned from the evidence of an inscription which says that a *Kalanju* of gold was equal to 411 7/13 *kasus*. To add to these there appear to have been current in the Chola empire some types of coins from Ceylon which were known as *Ilakkasu* or *Ilakkarunkasu*. Similarly the inscriptions in the Karnataka and

Andhra areas belonging to the same period mention a number of coins. Though some of such issues from the Tamil country contain the names of the kings who issued them, a good many of them bear only their titles. Many of the titles can be traced to the kings or provincial rulers who bore them, and the issuers of the coins can be identified. Taking into account the names of the issuers of the coins and the general provenance of the coins themselves, questions like the imperial or provincial nature of the issues, their date, the metal of their make, their fineness etc. may be studied. The ratio between the value of one type of coin and another is also mentioned in some of the issues. If the study of coins should include also a consideration of their usefulness for a study of the economic history of the period and the area to which they belong, as I think it should, one has necessarily to take the help of inscriptions for it. A beginning was made in this direction by K. G. Krishnan, now Superintendent in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It deserves to be pursued.

The discovery of a large number of Roman and other foreign coins from different places in South India adds a new dimension to South Indian numismatics. Though a number of such Roman coins belonging to the Kushāṇa and post-Kushāṇa periods have been found at different sites in North-West and North India also, on account of the political and cultural relationship between the Kushāṇ Empire and the Roman Empire including North Africa, their provenance in the south is of considerable significance. They seem to have been in circulation or at least in use in places which had Roman contacts, during the period from about the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd century A. D. Roman contacts with South India during the period as also in the succeeding centuries are also borne out by archaeological evidence, like Roman pottery, amphorae jars, dyeing watt etc. Recent excavations at places like Arikamedu, Uraiyur, Kanchipuram and Vasavasamudram in the Tamil are and Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in Mysore have established beyond doubt the cultural and trade contacts between South India and the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. Hence the find of Roman coins as also other indications of Roman contact bear out the extent to which and the period during which Roman cultural traits found their way into the South Indian coastal and inland areas. In the consideration of Roman coins in South India one is faced with problems like :

(1) Were the Roman *dinarii* accepted as regular currency or only as bullion weights as Wheeler thinks ?

(2) Did they influence the local currency ?

(3) Were the Punch-marked coins coeval with the Roman *dinarii*. If so, what was the relation between them ?

These are problems to which categorical answers may not be possible in our present state of knowledge. For an examination of such questions there is need for more reliable data about the coins with reference to their find spots, weights, legends etc. and the provenance and nature of indigenous coins got from such places. The association of foreign and indigenous coins found in a few places in the country may suggest that both of them were approximated. Inscriptions are also of some help in the considera-tion of these questions. An inscription of Maranjadaiyad from Tiruppattur mentions the *dinara* which was probably equal to an indigenous *Kasu*. From another inscription it is learnt that the coin *Drachma* (Diramam), was current in the country and an old *Kasu* fetched 1½ *Diramam* as interest, showing thereby that the old *Kasu* was of 'higher value tham the *diramam*'. The mention of a coin called *Dinari mashaka* in a few Ikshvaku inscription may suggest the infiuence of Roman coins on Ikshvaku coinage. A few Ikshvaku coins seem to have been imitations of Roman issues. Likewise the currencies of some foreign countries were in circulation in the Vijayanagar Empire, particularly in places where foreign merchants had settled. Among them were the *Cruzado* (Portuguese), dinar (Egyptian) fiorin (Piorentine) *ducate* (Venetian) etc.

Questions like these emphasise the need for a proper study of the foreign coins in the country through the ages. Mention was made earlier that the Government Museum, Madras, has brought out a publication on the Venetian coins in the Museum, written by the late T. O. Aravamudhan. The Roman coins in the Museum are now being studied. Chinese coins have been found in a few hoards collected by the same Museum. An interesting inscription of the time of Rajendra Gangaikonda Chola dated in his seventh regnal year (1019 A.D) from Nagapattinam in the Tanjore District makes reference to one Sri Kuruttan Kesavan *alias* Agralekai who consecrated an image of Ardhanaaigal in the temple called Tirukkafonam at the place, to which he madc thrce endowments namely, (1) 87¾ *Kalanju* of *chinakanakam* for worship on the occasion

of *avibali* (*hovirbali*) (2) another equal amount of the same *chinakanakam* for feeding devotees and (3) still another amount of 60 *Kalanju* of *undigai pon*, probably a particular type of coin. There is thus evidence to prove the currency of Chinese coins in South India, as in some other parts of the country. The subject requires carful study. It may be of considerable interest that a few excavations in South India have yielded pottery of Chinese origin. Also a bilingual inscription in Tamil and Chinese has been found in China.

Friends, one word more, and I shall have finished. The points I have tried to raise above in the study of South Indian Numismatics would, I am sure, show that there is need for a lot of planned work to be done in the subject. One of the difficulties in such work is the want of reliable and classified descriptive catalogues of the coins stored in many of the Museums in the area. Occassional notices of the finds of hoards of coins from one place or another raise rather than solve problems in the subject. The find of Kushāṇa coins in a hoard from Pethurivaripalem in the Guntur District and Puri-Kushāṇa coins from Salihundam in the Visakhapatnam District, both in Andhra Pradesh, far away from the Kushāṇa', empire is an instance in point. Catalogue for the coins of some of the South Indian dynasties kept in the Andhra Pradesh Government museum have of course been brought out; similar catalogues for the coins of many other dynasties, collected and kept in the Museum, have to be prepared. Likewise useful catalogues have to be made by competent men for the thousands of coins stored in the Government Museums in Tamil Nadu and Mysore. Probably some of the coins in the Museums may be the same as the ones mentioned in the inscriptions referred to earlier. There are a number of enthusiastic collectors of coins in South India who have with them valuable collections. It is highly necessary that such collections are made available to *bonafide* numismatic scholars for study. In recent years the office of the Government Epigraphist for India has collected a good number of coins. Notices of them are being published in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigrhphy*. But a full study of the coins has to be made, which cannot obviously be done in the absence of a qualified and full time Numismatist in the office. There is, besides, good need for a band of knowledgeable young scholars who can devote themselves to a

study of Indian Numismatics. To my mind it appears that the requisite qualifications for a good Numismatist in our country are a sound knowledge of the history of India and the countries with which it came into contact from early historic times, a good knowledge of ancient Indian languages and scripts and real love for the subject.

I feel that there is great necessity for a comprehensive encyclopædia on Indian Numismatics providing detailed information on different types of coins, with particular reference to their denomination, value, metrology, legends, symbols and iconographic motifs on them. This can serve as an easy and useful reference book for the rising numismatists. The task is however difficult, and therefore it cannot be undertaken by one single scholar. The work requires the co-operative effort of specialists from different regions. I cannot think of a more competent organisation than the Numismatic Society of India to undertake this stupendous task. I have no doubt that this Society and all the scholars in the field will give this suggestion their most earnest consideration.

Paper-Reading

On the 10th November, 1970 in the afternoon from 2.30 to 5.30 p.m. the General Session at the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Nagpur University (Amba Vihar). Prof. T. V. Mahalingam presided.

The following papers were read and discussed :

(1) Chowdhury, V and Ray, P.: "An Enigmatic Coin in the Indian Museum Cabinet".

(2) Dhavalikar, M. K.: "Coinage and Culture."

(3) Sharma, I. K.: "The Names 'Sātavāhana' and Sātakarṇi' and the significance of the Srivatsa symbol on the Sātavāhana Coins."

(4) Prasad, P. R. K.: "(a) The Silver Portrait Coins of the Sātavāhanas."
(b) A new variety of Vishṇukuṇḍin Coins from Vidarbha."

(5) Munshi, A.: "Some Sātavāhana Coins from Sopara."

(6) Bajpai K.D.: "A Rare Gupta Coin from Sanchi."

(7) Ahmad, Nisar.: "Chronology of the Rulers known from the Repousse Gold Coins of the Garuḍa Type."

(8) Sahai, S.: "Medium of Exchange in Ancient Cambodia."

(9) Roy. P. C : "The Coins of the Tomara Rulers "

(10) Kadiri, A. A.: "The Mughal Mint Nasirabad."

(11) Jamindar, R.: "Does the find-spot of coins really throw light on historical geography?"

(12) Tandan, R. C.: "A Commemorative Śuṅga sealing from Kauśāmbī."

(13) Vasant Chawdhary & Primal Ray: "Hitherto unknown coins of Cooch Bihar."

(14) Samaresh Bandyopadhyaya: "A Hermaphrodite figure on a silver plate."

(15) Acharya Bhagwan Dev.: "Vrishṇi Gaṇa Ki Mudrāyeṁ."

(16) Sankara Narayan, N.: "Three Hoard of Chinese Coins in Madras Museum."

(17) Kalimurty, M. "Use of coinage as gleaned from Sangam Literature."

(18) Wakankar, V. S.: "Sātavāhana coin from Malwa."

(1) The General Secretary, Dr. P. L. Gupta at the beginning moved the resolution on the sad demise of Sri T. V. Arva Muthan and Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal and it was passed by observing a silence of 2 minutes.

(2) Thereafter the General Secretary Dr. P. L. Gupta presented his Annual Report as follows.

General Secretary's Annual Report, 1970

Last year we met at Patna on 26th, 27th and 28th October, 1969. Normally our meeting should have been held either in Durga Puja or Dewali holidays. But either of the holidays were not convenient to our host-the Nagpur University and its Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archæology for the reasons of their own. So, we are meeting this time after a little more than a year. I had apprehensions that our meeting this year during a non-holiday period might be inconvenient to many of

our members and our gathering would be poor. But when a few days back, I came to know that no less than seventy members have expressed their desire to attend this meeting, I felt very much delighted. This shows that members are now serious about our activities and are keen to take interest in them.

Membership:

At the time of our last meeting, we had 365 individual and institutional members on our roll. Since then we have enrolled 51 new members (3 Life member, 36 individual members and 12 institutional members). This shows that people are appreciating our activities and are anoxious to participate in our activities. I do not mean to say that all these members have joined our Society by themselves. In response to my appeal made last year some of the members took interest in increasing our fraternity. But for such an important Society like ours, a membership of 400 is by no means large. So, I would appeal you again this year to come forward and build the Society still stronger. Next year is the Golden Jubilee year of the Society. Let us take a vow to have atleast 600 members on our role by that time. It would be a commemoration of the event by itself.

Publication:

Last year, by the time of our annual meeting, we were able to bring out Part I of volume XXXI. I had then hoped that Part II of that Volume would be out by March this year and Part I of this year's Volume (Volume XXXII) by June. But this could not be possible inspite of our best efforts. These days it has become difficult to tackle with the presses. They are so over worked that they fail to keep their promises. However, I am glad to announce that these two parts are now ready and will be soon despatched to our members. It would be our efforts to bring out the second part of this year as early as possible.

A monograph entitled "Coin Hoards from Maharashtra" prepared by Dr. P. L. Gupta, a sister volume of the monograph "Coin Hoards from Gujarat State" published last year, was sent to press along with the latter and I had every hope that both the monographs would be ready by the time of our last year's meeting. But the press did not fulfill its promise. Not only that, that the monograph did not come out on that occasion, it could not be published till a few days back.

Our monograph Series is meant for bibliography, coin lists, inventories, indices, special essays and other useful hands materials relating to Indian coins, medals and seals and other allied subjects. So far we have published sixteen monographs in this series, I feel that by the time we celeberate our Diamond Jubilee, we should have atleast 30 publications in the series. For the next fourteen, I invite the members to join our hands and prepare the monographs.

Some time back we were publishing another series of 'memoirs' ; but for a quite long time nothing has been published in this series. We intend to revive this series, which is meant for serious studies. In this series we are bringing out a work on Saka-Pahlava coins by K. W. Dobbins. It is in the press for the quite sometime. I hope it would be out some time next year.

The Publications of the Corpus Volumes and the book 'Common-types of Indian Coins", could not still be taken for many reasons and one of them is the lack of proper funds. But I hope in the wake of our Diamond Jubilee Celebrations perhaps we might be able to do something in this direction too.

In 1966, the Society had desired to bring out a bulletin for the use of common coin collector and passed resolution to this effect. I am seriously thinking to implement this resolution. But the lack of funds is the first hurdle in its way. An idea comes to my mind. If twelve members of the Society join our hands in bringing out this bulletin and agree to pay Rs. 200/- each I shall be able to bring out an eight page crown actvo size monthly bulletin for a year unintruppted. If we succeed in continuing our Journal for a year, I am sure, by the end of year, we shall have subcribers at least to the extent that the bulletin have its own standing without any outside assistance. I would suggest that those members who subscribe to my idea be taken as the life subscribers of the bulletin. Our coin dealer members can also be helpful in our venture. My suggestions to them would be that if they would pay Rs. 200/- for this bulletin, the bulletin would repay it by publishing a 1/8th page insertion of advertisement in four issues. I hope this suggestion would find your approval and some of you would come forward with your generous assistance to the cause of popular numismatics.

Here I would also put to the Society to think of the publication, an edition of its Journal in Hindi. It is a great need of the time. We can begin this, if we could manage a similar plan for it.

Library, Museum and Building:

About the library, museum and building, I have little to add than what I had been repeating in my reports every year; and have only to say that for want of funds, we are unable to make any progress. It is highly necessary that the upper floor of the Society's building is completed. It is also necessary that the library is built up as a reference and research centre for numismatic studies. We should also have a museum, where coins could be studied in original or the casts and photographs. It would be befitting memorial to our Diamond Jubilee. I would, therefore, appeal to the members to take vow to raise funds and fulfil these needs by the time we celebrate it next year.

Finance:

I had been telling you all these years about our limited resources, which are confined to the membership fee, grant-in-aid from Central and State Governments and the sale proceeds of our publications. These sources had been barely enough to run the Society and we had a deficit of Rs. 8,467/- till last year and that money was due over the Society. But I am glad to say that my appeals to members had not gone in vain and they generously responded to my last year's appeal. We could realise a good amount of the arrears of the subscription from our members. We could also get the arrear of the grants-in-aids from some of the Governments. The sale of publications had also a considerable increased. So, as you would find in the Treasurer's Report, we have been able not only to wipe out the deficit but also have a little savings. But this is not a matter of gratification for we or to the Society. To run the Society properly, it is necessary that our members should remain prompt in the payment of their membership dues; they should help in increasing the membership and also do their best to get donations for our activities.

The Society has already applied to obtain certificate for the exemption of Income-tax for the doners, donating funds to the Society; and I hope it would be available this year. If and when it is received, it would be possible to raise some funds for our activities. This is all in brief, I had to say about the Society as the General Secretary.

External activities:

I think it is my duty not only to report the activities of the Society and place suggestions about them but also to inform our members, what others are doing for the furtherance of the cause of numismatics. To this, I would say that once, with the birth of the Numismatic Society of India, some of the museums very enthusiastically published Catalogue of their coins. But after some time their enthusiasm exhausted. It is only a few years back this silence was broken by the Department of Archæology, Andhra Pradesh Government, when they published about half a dozen monographs on various series of Deccan coins. Then the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, published a Catalogue of Early Coins in their museum. The Archæological Department of Maharashtra has brought out two Catalogues of Mughal coins in recent years. One relates to the coins that are in the office of the Director of Archæology and other in the Nagpur Museum. The State Museum, Lucknow brought out some time back a supplement to its Mughal coins. Now it has published a Catalogue of their Indo-Greek coins. Apart from the Governments and the museums, publishers and individuals are also taking interest in numismatic publications. The National Book Trust brought out a popular book on Indian coins last year. Recently a Delhi publisher published a small books on coins in Hindi. Indo-Portuguese coin is the subject of a small book published from Goa. Dr. B. N. Mukherjee has brought out a sumpluous monograph exclusively on a motif of the Kushana coin–Nana on the lion.

Discovery of Coins :

As for the discovery of the coins during the year I have not much information. A gold coin of Chandragupta II, archer type was discovered in Champaran district in Bihar. The coin has now come to Patna Museum. A hoad of about 3000 Magha coins was discovered some months back, some where in Mirzapur district. Perhaps it has reached in some private collection. A friend of mine has reported to me the news of a find of a hoard of gold coins in Allahabad district, but the details are not available to me. I request members of the Society and the museums to furnish me information of the finds, so that in future detailed information could be put in the Secretary's report.

Diamond Jubilee:

I had referred to above at occassions about the Diamond Jubilee year of the Society. We had celebrated our Golden Jubilee with all jubilance in 1961 and it will be in the fitness of the thing that we celebrate our Diamond Jubilee next year with greater jubilance. On that occasion we had published a big volume of our Journal. The Directorate of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, had on our request produced a documentary film entitled "The Romance of Indian Coins". We should do something more concrete this time. For it I have put some of my suggestions above. I would discuss this matter with the new Executive Committee and let you know what we propose to do.

Lastly, all my burderns as General Secretary were being shared by Dr. A.K. Narain and Dr. Rai Govinda Chandra, the Chairman and Treasurer respectively and by other colleagues, Dr. T.P. Verma and Dr. Nisar Ahmad and the members of the staff. I am grateful to all of them for their kind and generous co-operation. If there had been any lapses in the work of the Society, the responsibility was mine and I crave your indulgence to forgive me for those lapses.

But before I conclude my report, I would like to suggest that time has now come when numismatic societies in State should be organised to give fillip to the collection, study and research in regional numismatics. I am told that one such society has been formed at Calcutta. Our members should also have it in other States. Another thing that I would like to say is that in past, the numismatic activities were summarised by our presidents in their Presidential Addresses. But for quite sometime, they find no mention in those addresses. So, I feel that it is now the responsibility of the General Secretary of the Society to keep the members informed also about all the activities outside the Society relating to the numismatics viz: the publications of numismatic books, the discovery of coins and the like. But this is only possible if the members and institutions keep the Society informed.

Treasurer's Report

The Treasurer's Report was presented by the General Secretary in absence of the Treasurer Dr. Rai Govinda Chandra and approved. (The audited account is appended at the end.)

General Body's Resolutions

(1) It was resolved that the Budget Estimate of the Society for the year 1970-71 as presented by the General Secretary on behalf of the Treasurer be approved.

(2) It was resolved that the Executive Council be authorised to arrange the venue of the next Annual Conference of the Society.

(3) The General Secretary informed the General Body of the Society that the income-tax authorities before issuing any certificate of exemption from income-tax for soliciting donations have a declaration from the Society that the sales of the publication are not intended for any profit

It was, therefore, unanimously resolved that it be declared that the publications of the Society are not intended for any profit. They are priced only to meet the cost and sundry expenses of the publications and to run the academic activities of the Society.

(4 a) It was resolved that the following sub-section be added to the Section XI of the constitution of the Society and it may be be numbered as Sub-section 4.

"The Council, however, shall not amend the constitution that would directly or indirectly lead to the diversion of the funds of the Society to non-charitable purposes."

(4b) It was also resolved to add in the Constitution a clause declaring that in case the Society is ever liquidated the assets of the Society will be transferred to a society whose aims and objects would be similar to its own.

(5) On the recommendation of the Executive Council it was decided to hold the Seminar on "Foreign Elements in Early Indian Coinage" on the occasion of the next annual session. Dr. A. M Shastri shall be the Convener of the Seminar.

(6) On the recommendation of the Executive Council it was resolved to confer the Honorary Fellowship of the Society upon Dr. D. C. Sircar and Sri C. R. Singhal in recognition of their services to the cause of Numismatic studies.

(7) It was resolved that the Diamond Jubilee of the Society be celebrated in 1972 and the programme chalked out by the Executive Council be approved.

(8) It was resolved that the Resolution No. 6 passed at the 54th annual meeting at Varanasi be given an earliest effect to arouse popular interest of the numismatics and to meet the needs of the popular coin collectors a bulletin be published. Dr. P. L. Gupta and Sri R. C. Tandon (Allahabad) be empowered to collect funds for the publication of the bulletin.

(9) Resolved that the thanks of the Society by conveyed to the authorities of the Nagpur University for their kind co-operation and hospitality on the occasion of this Session.

Seminar

Two seminars were held during this session first seminar on Sātavāhana Coins was held on 11th November, 1970 in two sessions 9 to 12 a.m. and 2.30 to 5.30 p.m. in the Department of Ancient Indian History & Archæology. Prof. T.V. Mahalingam presided and Dr. A. M. Shastri conducted the seminar. Following papers were read and discussed:

1. Ahmad, Nisar : "Attribution, Typology and Classification of Sātavāhana Coins".
2. Deo, S. B. : "Technology and Metallurgy of Sātavāhana Coins.
3. Gokhale, Mrs. M. : "Religious and Social Aspects of the Coinage of the Sātavāhanas."
4. Gupta, P. L. : "Types and Regional Distribution of the Sātavāhana Coins."
5. Sharma, I. K. : "Regional Distribution, Chronology, Sequence and Historical significance of the Sātavāhana Coins."
6. Shastri, A. M. : "2 Epoch of the Sātavāhana Rule : A New Approach."

2nd Seminar was held on 12th November, 1970 in two session 9 to 12 a.m. and 2. 30 to 5.30 p.m. in the Department of Ancient Indian History & Archæology. Prof. T. V. Mahalingam presided and Dr. A. M. Shastri conducted the seminar on behalf of Dr. S. B. Deo. Following papers were read and discussed:

1. Lahiri, B. : "Tribal & Local Coins from Excavations."

2. Sahi, M.D.N. : "Bearing of Excavations on the Early History of the Audumbaras."

3. Gupta, P.L. : "Sātavāhana Coins from Excavations."

4. Bajpai, K.D. : "Gupta Coins from Excavations."

Proceedings of the Seminars will be published seperately.

General Meeting

After the Seminar the Annual General meeting of the Numismatic Society of India was held under the presidentship of Prof. T. V. Mahalingam.

(13) The following office bearers were elected unanimously:—

President (for 1972)—Dr. A. K. Narain
(for 1972)—Sri G.H. Khare.

Vice-Chairman (for 1971)—Dr. S. L. Katare.

Members for the Executive Council for 1971 :

1. Prof. T. V. Mahalingam.
2. Sri B. L. Mankad.
8. Prof. K. D. Bajpai.
4. Dr. (Mrs.) Bela Lahiri.
5. Dr. Nisar Ahmad.
6 Dr. A. M. Shastri.
7. Sri R. C. Agarawal.
8. Sri R. K. Sethi.

Proceedings of the Executive Council

A meeting of the new Executive Council was held under the Chairmanship of Dr. A. K. Narain at the Engineer's hostel Nagpur University on 11th November, 1970 at 8-30 p.m.

The following members were present :—

(1) Dr. A. K. Narain

(2) Dr. A. N. Lahiri

(3) Dr. S. L. Katare

(4) Dr. P. L. Gupta

(5) Dr. T. P. Verma

(6) Prof. K. D. Bajpai

(7) Dr. (Mrs.) Bela Lahiri

(8) Dr. Nisar Ahmad

(9) Dr. A. M. Shastri &

(10) Dr. R. C. Agarwal.

Council's Resolutions

(1) The Executive Council considered about the Dimond Jubilee and resolved that :

(*a*) The first five volumes of the Journal of the Numismatic Society be reprinted by the time of the Jubilee Session.

(*b*) All efforts be made to bring out at least 2 volumes of the Corpus of Indian Numismatics.

(*c*) Co-operation of Numismatic Societies and other agencies relating to numismatics be sought on this occasion.

(*d*) The Postal Department be approached to issue a stamp relating to coins on this occasion.

(*e*) The Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Govt. of India be approached to produce a documentary film relating to some aspect of Indian coins.

(*f*) An aluminium or nickel medal be issued on this occasion.

(*g*) Central and State Governments be approached for necessary financial assistance for organising the several activities of the Society on the occasion of the Dimond Jubilee.

(2) The question of reprinting the numismatic supplements was discussed and it was resolved that the exact position of the Asiatic Society and Numismatic Society in respect of the supplements be ascertained and in the light of that necessary decision be taken at the next meeting.

(3) Resolved that the Dearness Allowance to the clerk and the peon be granted at the rate which is at present given to their servants by the U. P. State Government.

(4) Resolved that the resident editor who looks after the printing and proof reading of the Journal be paid an honorarium of Rs. 200/- per part of the Journal.

(5) Resolved that Dr. A. K. Narain be authorised to negotiate for the venue of the next conference at Poona or Baroda with the University authorities of those places.

(6) As regards the publication of the popular bulletin it was resolved that :

(*a*) A seperate fund be maintained for the publication of the bulletin.

(*b*) that Dr. P.L. Gupta and Sri R. C. Tandon (Allahabad) be appointed its editors and they be fully authorised to take all necessary actions for the publication of this bulletin.

(*c*) Dr. P. L. Gupta and Sri R. C. Tandon be authorised to open a bank account in some suitable bank at Allahabad and operate it jointly.

(*d*) For meeting the initial expenses and the cost of the publication of this bulletin for the 1st year, a special fund be raised by donations.

(7) In persuance of the resolution on no. 6 (d) the following members spontaneously agreed to pay Rs. 200/- each :—

1. Dr. A. K. Narain
2. Dr. P. L. Gupta.
3. Sri R. C. Tandon
4. Sri K. C. Jaria
5. Sri Vasant Chawdhuri &
6. Sri Ramrup Cupta.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at 31st March, 1970 and the annexed Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended on that date of the Numismatic Society of India, P. O. Hindu University, Varanasi-5 with the books and vouchers and beg to report that we obtained all the information and explanations we have requirad. In our opinion the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society, subject to that :—

(1) Receipt No. 717 dated 16.12 1969 issued for Rs. 578/- in favour of the Registrar of Calcutta University, Calcutta, in advance, but the proceeds of the same was not credited in the Cash Book till 31. 3 1970.

(2) That a cash amount of Rs. 110|- deposited on 9.2.1970 in State Bank of India but the same was not credited by the bank till 31.3.1970.

(3) The proceeds of the sale of publication worth Pounds 1.43 pens received by the Institution but the same was not credited in the Books of Accounts.

(4) As reported in last year the sale proceed of the sale of publication worth Pounds 3 received on 18.3.1968 was not credited till 31.3.1970.

Sd. Ghanshyam Das
GHANSHYAM DAS & CO.
Chartered Accountants

Dated : 16th July, 1969
VARANASI

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,

BALANCE SHEET

Previous Year	CAPITAL & LIBILITIES		This Year
Rs. P.			Rs. P.
3,000.00	Furniture Fund Maharastra Government 1962-63		3,000.00
3,000.00	Library Fund Non-Recurring Grant from Central Govt.		3,000.00
4,000.00	Museum Fund Non-Recurring Grant from Central Govt.		4,000.00
1,559.48	Booklet Scheme		1,559.48
2,500.00	Strong Room Fund Non-Recurring Grant from Central Govt.		2,500.00
40,262.59	Building Fund		40,262.59
22,106.42	Special Publication Fund	22,106.42	
	Add Sale of Publication for the year	13,996.90	
		36,103 32	
	Less Excess of Expenditure over Income ...	509.73	35,593.59
1.23	Sundry Advance ...		1.23
1,016 00	Sundry Liabilities to Editor's Honorarium & Contribution Charges ...		1,016.00
531.00	Sundry Liabilities for Gupta Coins		531.00
455.00	Sundry Liabilities for Golden Jubilee Expenses		455.00
114.50	Mr. C.H. Biddulph		114.50
2,508.67	General Fund		2,508.67
40.00	T.A. Payable		...
81,094.89		Total	94,542.06

Dated: 26th June, 1970
Varanasi.

P. O. HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5.

AS AT 31st MARCH, 1970.

Previous Year	ASSETS & PROPERTIES		This Year
Rs. P.			Rs. P.
37,892.55	Building	37,892.55	
	Less depreciation for the year	947.50	36,945.05
1,254.30	Dies:	1,254.30	
	Less depreciation for the year	125.40	1,128.90
6,050.25	Furniture	6,050.25	
	Less depreciation for the year	605.00	5,445.05
283.65	Duplicator	283 65	
	Less depreciation for the year	42.65	241.00
895.44	Typewriter	895.44	
	Less depreciation for the year	135.00	760.44
3,964.25	Library	3,964.25	
	Less depreciation for the year	594.60	3,369.65
49.27	Sundry Advance		49.27
...	M/s. Eureka Printing Works		2,909.50
4,000.03	Museum: (at cost)		4,000.03
2,590.00	Strong Room		2,590.00
7,000.00	Investment: (at cost) National Saving Certificate		7,000.00
	Cash & Bank Balances:—		
1,559.48	With State Bank of India (Booklet Scheme)	1,559.48	
3,597.16	With State Bank of India (Society)	13,932.50	
1.16	Cash in Hand	82.14	
...	Cheque in hand	1,740.00	
11,957.35	With Post Office Saving Bank A/C.	12.788 85	30,102.97
81,094 89	Total		94,542.06

Sd. Ghanshyam Das
GHANSHYAM DAS & Co.
Chartered Accountants

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,

INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR

Previous year	Particulars		This Year
Rs. P.			Rs. P.
9,729.76	To Printing Charges.		4,238.33
...	,, Contribution Charges.		702.50
979.26	,, Postage & Telegrams.		1,715.20
7,487.48	,, Salary. (including Allowance D. A. & Provident Fund).		6,674.52
1,800.00	,, Salary to Corpus Project.		...
86.25	,, Bank Commission.		146.95
306.90	,, Sundry Expenses.		270.00
366.91	,, Travelling & Conveyance.		255.00
100.00	,, Audit Fee.		150.00
222.42	,, Electric & Water Supply.		152.25
392.62	,, Stationery.		1,098.48
436.20	,, Telephone Charges.		354.80
680.00	,, Author's Honorarium.		...
800.00	,, Editor's Honorarium.		...
2,690.91	,, Depreciation on Assets.		...
	Building.	947.50	
	Dies.	125.40	
	Furniture.	605.00	
	Duplicater.	42.65	
	Typewriter.	135.00	
	Library.	594.60	2,450.15
26,078.71	Total Rs.		18,208.18

Dated: 26th June, 1970
Varanasi.

As per our report on that

P.O. HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5.

THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 1970.

Previous Year	Particulars			This Year
Rs. P.				Rs. P.
5,794.30	By Sale of Publications			...
7,388.71	,, Subscription Received			8,666.95
30.00	,, Advertisement Charges			...
75.00	,, Delegation Fee			60.00
2,523.00	,, Donation Received			140.00
...	,, Interest Received			831.50
1,800.00	,, Government Grants			...
	Central Government	1968-69	4,000 00	
	Madhya Pradesh	1968-69	300.00	
	Orissa Government	1966-67,		
		1967-68,		
		1968-69,		
		1969-70	1,200.00	
	Rajasthan Govt.	1968-69	300.00	
	Madras Government	1968-69	600.00	
	West Bengal	1967-68	300.00	
	Maharashtra Govt.	1969-70	500.00	
	U. P. Government	1969-70	500-00	
	Bihar Government	1969-70	300-00	8,000.00
8,467.70	,, Excess of Expenditure over Income			509.73
26,078.71	Total Rs.			18,208.18

date on Balane Sheet.

SD. Ghanshyam Das

GHANSHYAM DAS & CO.

Chartered Accountants

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,

P.O. HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5.

Proposed Budget for the year 1970-71.

INCOME

S. No.	Particulars		Actuals of 1969-70	Estimates for 1970-71	Estimates for 1971-72
1.	Balance (if in hand):		...	3,728.62	...
2.	Subscriptions:		8,666.95	6,000.00	6,000.00
3.	Sale of Publications:		13,996.90	10,000.00	10,000.00
4.	Delegation fee:		60.00	40.00	40.00
5.	Advertisement:		...	40.00	40.00
6.	Donations:		140.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
7.	Government Grants:		8,000.00		
	Bihar Government 19697-70	300		300.00	
	Maharastra ,,	500		500.00	
	Orissa 1966-67 to ,,	1,200		300.00	
	U.P. ,,	500		500.00	
	Madhya Pradesh 1968-69	300		*600.00	
	Madras ,,	600		*1,200.00	
	Rajasthan ,,	300		*600.00	
	Central Govt. ,,	4,000		*8,000.00	
	West Bengal 1967-68	300		†900.00	
	Total ...		30,863.00	34,708.62	18,080.00
	Deficit ...		...	27,835.38	97,007.38
	Grand Total ...		30,863.85	62,544.00	1,17,087.38

	Sd. Dr. A. K. Narain	*Chairman*
*1969-70 &	Sd. Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta	*General Secretary*
1970-71	Sd. Dr. T. P. Verma	*Asstt. Secretary*
†1968-69 to 1970-71	Sd. Dr. Rai Govind Chandra	*Treasurer.*
	Sd. Krishna Kumar Srivastava,	*Accountant.*

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA,
P.O. HINDU UNIVERSITY, VARANASI-5.
Proposed Budget for the year 1970-71
EXPENDITURE

S. No.	Particulars		Actuals of 1969-70	Estimates for 1970-71	1971-72
1.	Balance (if over drawn)		8,467.70	...	27,835,38
2.	*Establishment*				
	(a) Salary: 1. Officials	...	...	2,720.00	10,320.00
	2. Ministerials	...	2,820.00	6,300 00	6,600.00
	3. Menials	...	2,012.00	5,136 00	5,196.00
	(b) Dearness Allowance	...	1,320.00	14,760.00	14,760.00
	(c) House Rent Allowance	...	...	2,670.00	2,760.00
	(d) City Compensatory Allowance	...	...	1,008.00	1,016.00
3.	Contribution towards Provident Fund	...	235.02	350.00	450.00
4.	Remuneration to Sri Maheshwari Sahai at Patna	...	287 50	300.00	300.00
5.	Auditor's Honorarium	...	150.00	150.00	150.00
6.	Author's Honorarium	...	702.50	2,000.00	2,000.00
7.	Contributor's Honorarium	...	...	1,000.00	1,000.00
8.	*Office Expences:*				
	(a) Stationery	...	1,098.48	1,000.00	1,500.00
	(b) Postage	...	1,715 20	2,000.00	2,500.00
	(c) Bank's Commission	...	146.95	150.00	200.00
	(d) Telephone	...	354.80	500.00	500.00
	(e) Electric & Water Supply	...	152.25	500.00	500 00
	(f) Office equipment	...	...	500.00	500.00
9.	Travelling & Conveyance	...	255.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
10.	Peon's Uniform	...	...	...	500.00
11.	Contingent Expences	...	270.00	500.00	1,000.00
12.	Miscellaneous Expences	...	...	500.00	500.00
13.	Library Books & Bindings	...	...	2,500.00	2,500.00
14.	Museums	...	...	2,500.00	2,500.00
15.	White Washing etc.	...	...	...	1,500 00
16.	Furniture	...	...	2,000 00	2,500.00
17.	Publications (Journals-Monographs etc.)	...	4,238.33	5,000.00	10,000.00
18.	Annual Conference	...	...	500.00	...
19.	Advanced to M/S Eureka Press towards printing material	...	2,909.50	...	...
20.	Diamond Jubilee Expences	...	...	...	15,000.00
			27,135.23	62,544.00	1,15,087.38
	Balance		3,728.62	...	...
	Grand Total		30,863.85	62,544.00	1,15,087 38

Sd. Dr. A. K. Narain
Chairman

Sd. Dr. T. P. Verma
Asst. Secretary

Sd. Krishna Kumar Srivastava
Accountant.

Sd. Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta
General Secretary

Sd. Dr. Rai Govind Chandra
Treasurer

LIST OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Prof. T. V. Mahalingam
Sri R. C. Tandan
Dr. R. C. Jamindar
Dr. Prasant Kumar Jaiswal
Sri Anwar Munshi
Sri Ram Roop Gupta
Sri Vasant Chaudhury
Dr. A. N. Lahiri
Dr. (Mrs.) Bela Lahiri
Sri K. C. Jaria
Srimati K. C. Jaria
Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay
Sri M. Kalimurthy
Dr. P. C. Roy
Sri G. B Sharma
Smt. Shobhana Gokhale
Km. Vinita Verma
Sri G.H. Khare
Sri Hans Raj Gupta
Sri V. S. Wakankar
Dr. P. L. Gupta
Sri M. D. N. Shai
Prof. K. D. Bajpai
Sri R. C. Agrawal
,, B. L. Mankad
Swami Omananda Saraswati
Prof. H. D. Sankalia
,, A. K. Narain
Dr. T. P. Verma
Dr. Nishar Ahmad
Sri P. K. Agrawal
Sri B. V. Shetti
R. S. Mishra
V. V. Mirashi
Dr. R. N. Mishra
Shri I.K. Sharma
Shri P.R.K. Prasad
Shri N. Sankar Narayan

Dr. A.M. Shastri

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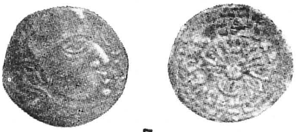

3

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6

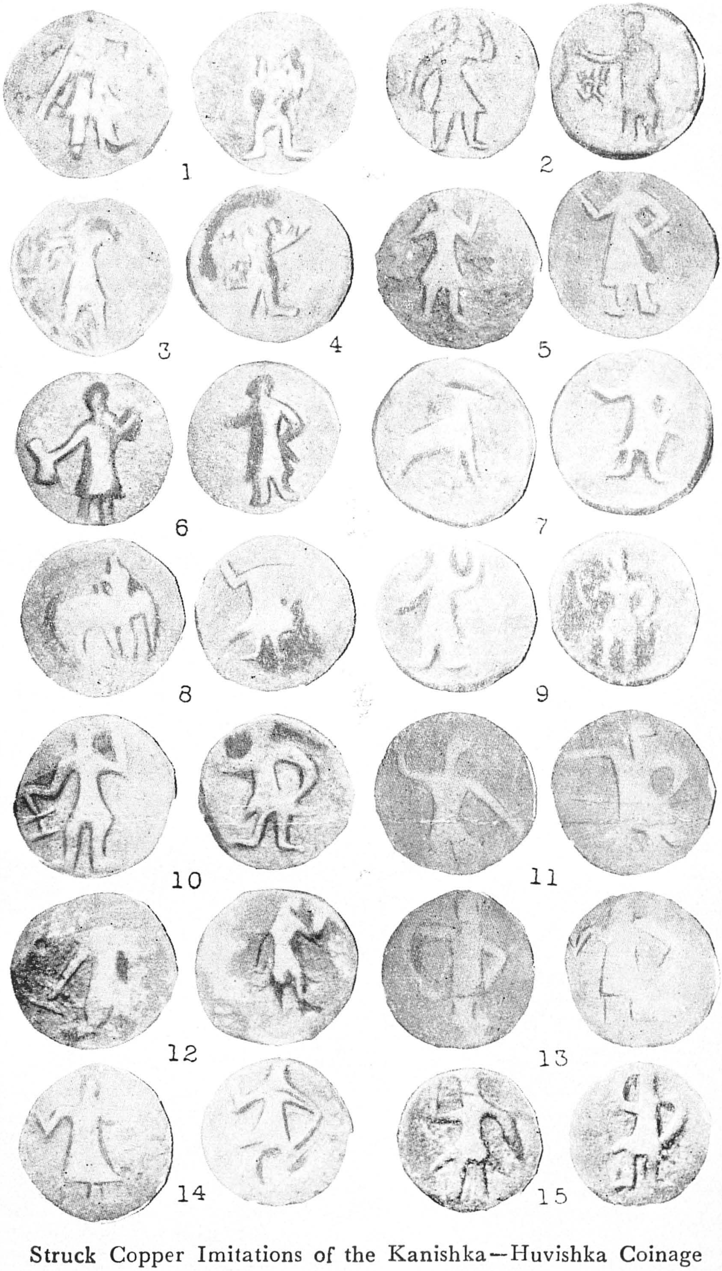
1-2. Coins with Varāha device ; 3. A Silver Coin of Budhagupta ;
4. Prakāśāditya on horse killing lion; 5-6. Sassanian Hunting Scenes.

PLATE II

2

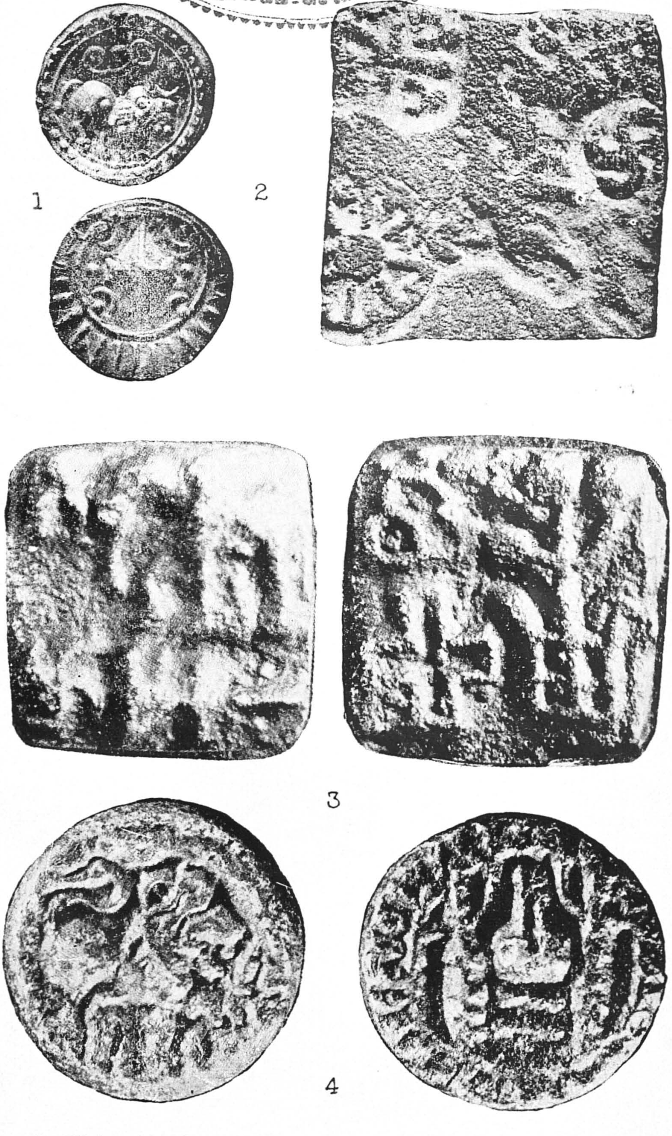
1

A Śuṅga Sealing from Kauśāmbī



Struck Copper Imitations of the Kanishka—Huvishka Coinage

PLATE IV



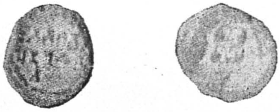
1. Vishṇukuṇḍin Coin; 2. Copper Punch-marked Coin;
3. Copper Cast Coin; 4. Vishṇukuṇḍin Coin

PLATE V

1

2

3



4

5

1-3. Western Khatrapa Silver Coins; **4.** A Rare Gupta Coin; **5.** Coin of Viranārāyaṇa of Cooch Bihar.

PLATE VI

1. Coin of Vīranārāyaṇa ; 2. Coin of Mahindranārāyaṇa ; 3. A New Gadhiya Coin ; 4. A New Gandhi-Nehru Medal ; 5-6. Two New Rāma-Taṅkās ; 7-10. Repousse Gold Coins of the Garuḍa Device.

THE
JOURNAL
OF
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OF
INDIA

Published twice a year, in June and December, each part containing approximately 100 pages with five or more plates and is sent post-free to all members of the Society. Its price to others is Rs. 20.00 per part. It may be obtained direct from the Society.

Article on Indian coins, medals, seals of all kinds are invited by the Editors. Shorter communications, such as records of discovery of coins or notes on numismatic subjects, are also considered for publication in suitable form.

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All the matter for publication should be nearly typed on one side of the paper, with proper diacritical marks for the transliteration of Sanskrit and Persian words, for which the following system should be followed :

ऋ ṛi ; ङ् ṅ ; च् ch, छ् chh, ञ् ñ, ण् ṇ, श् ś, ष् sh.

; ḍ ڈ ; d د ; kh خ ; ḥ ح ; ch چ ; j ج ; th ث ; ṭ ٹ ; t ت ; p پ ; b ب ; a ا

; a' ع ; .. ظ ; ṭ ط ; ẓ ض ; ṣ ص ; sh ش ; s س ; zh ژ ; z ز ; ṛ ڑ ; r ر ; z ذ

.y ی ; h ه ; w و ; n ن ; m م ; l ل ; g گ ; k ک ; q ق ; f ف ; gh غ

All papers should be accompanied with good neat photograps or white casts of coins, meant for illustration. Where difficulty is felt, the Editors will be pleased to help.

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All Contributions and literature intended for review in the Journal may kindly be sent to—

Prof. A. K. Narain

Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi-5

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